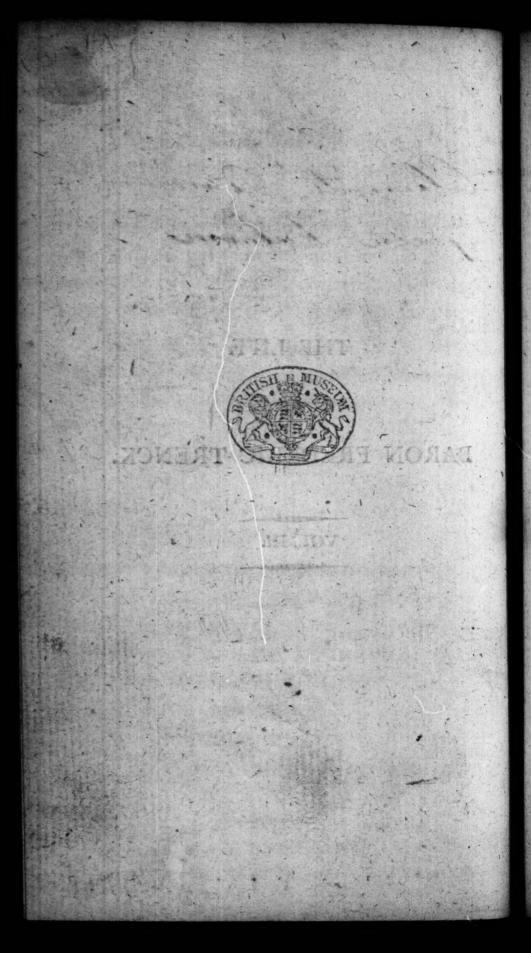
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THE LIFE

OF

BARON FREDERIC TRENCK.

VOL. III.



THE LIFE

OF

BARON FREDERIC TRENCK;

CONTAINING

HIS ADVENTURES; .

HIS CRUEL AND EXCESSIVE
SUFFERINGS DURING TEN YEARS' IMPRISONMENT
AT THE FORTRESS OF MAGDEBURG.

BY COMMAND OF THE

LATE KING OF PRUSSIA.

ALSO

ANECDOTES,

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND PERSONAL.

Translated from the German,

BY
THOMAS HOLCROFT.

COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.
The Third Edition.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW,
By S. Hamilton, Falcon-Court, Fleet-Street.



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VOL. IV.

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LONDON

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ANECDOTES

OF

THE LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER SCHELL,

AN OFFICER OF THE GUARD, IN THE FORTRESS OF GLATZ, WHO DELIVERED ME FROM PRISON ON THE 26TH OF DECEMBER, 1746, AND DESERTED IN MY COMPANY.

A Supplement to my own History.

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PREFACE.

A GREAT personage of Berlin, to whom I related the adventures of Alexander Schell, a lieutenant in the Prussian service, was desirous to see them published; and this is a task I the more freely undertake, because I persectly recollect those incidents which I shall insert related by himself, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1776. His letters and poems I have lost, three of the former only excepted, which will be hereafter read. The journal of our travels through Poland, written by him, I have inserted in the first volume of this work.

I have faithfully depicted his virtues and his defects; and, should the cold misanthrope distain such narratives, I shall nevertheless have the satisfaction of knowing that the attention of readers less rigorous will be fixed by the originality of his character, and that they will pardon some of the weaknesses of humanity, remembering the goodness of his heart, and his other estimable qualities.

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OF THE LIFE OF

ALEXANDER SCHELL.

A LEXANDER SCHELL, whose hiftory is so intimately connected with
my own, and which my readers may wish to
peruse, was of a good family of the circle of
Suabia. His mother was of the house of
Lowenstein; his father was reduced to poverty by an unfortunate law-suit. This is all
that I know of his origin. Schell, the son,
of whom I speak, entered into the Prussian
service, in the regiment of Wurtemburg,
which the duke bestowed on the king.

In consequence of some quarrels, and other youthful pranks, he, in the year 1744, was sent to the garrison regiment of Mütschefall.

Ιt

It is well known that these kind of changes are most sensibly selt by Prussian officers, who never become soldiers, that they may grow grey behind the walls of a fortress, in company with invalids and men acknowledged worthless. Schell, who in reality was far from one of the latter, could not but be exceedingly distatisfied with his state; he wished for nothing more than a savourable occasion to desert. From his family he received nothing, and his wants were many. He was much addicted to study; but his amorous disposition and inconstancy kept his pockets continually empty.

His chagrin may well be imagined, when he beheld himfelf a lieutenant in a garrifon battalion, with an income fo trifling, without confolation for the prefent, or hope for the future.

He therefore determined to fly from Glatz the very first opportunity that should offer. To this it must be added, that general Fouquet, governor of that citadel, was his persecutor, and put him under arrest for the most trifling fault; especially after Schell

had composed a satire, which was every where circulated, on the amorous intercourse between the daughter of the general and the town-major Doo.

It was at this very time, and at a moment when he feared he should be arrested for debt, that lieutenant Bach proposed to him to supply me with the means of slight, and thus to procure himself a supporter, by rendering me service.

His heart was good and compassionate: he had long been affected by my missortune; yet he afterward avowed that the motive, which principally decided him to aid my escape, was the desire of thus revenging himself on general Fouquet.

Were not these circumstances explained, every man must be astonished to read in my history that a person to whom I was unknown, who was under no obligations to me, should determine, while himself an officer on guard over me, to sly in mid-day with a prisoner of state, and thus to expose himself to an infamous and certain death had he been taken. It may be added, there never

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was a more imprudent nor a more daring undertaking.

We conceived an inclination and friendship for each other on our first conversation,
and he further hoped to make his fortune by
my means. We were betrayed, as I have
related: a friend gave him information of
this, and he might have escaped by himself,
but he had promised to restore me to freedom. He likewise might have resected,
that, having neither money nor resource, he
would find himself in a foreign country, and
in the most deplorable of situations. In great
danger, he wanted neither courage nor fortitude. He was naturally inconsiderate, and
always yielded to the first emotion.

His honour, likewise, was engaged to keep his word with me: and these circumstances united, induced him to take the desperate resolution of dying, or escaping in my company. He daringly faced danger, preserved his presence of mind, and, aided by him, I executed an enterprise, which, because it was successful, has been more admired than blamed.

Never yet, however, did I find another

man who had the courage, or the friendship for me, to perform a like action.

On our return from Thorn to Vienna we passed through Warsaw, where we made some stay. Schell left me in the asternoon, and returned late to our lodging, without speaking a word concerning where he had been, or what he had done.

On the morrow we went to Cracow; it happened to be the time of the fair, and I determined to exchange the horse of Schell, because he was lame. "Since the horse "will be yours," said I, "it is but right "that you should pay the additional money "in exchange." Schell immediately burst into a laugh, took out his empty purse from his pocket, and said, "I lest all my money "at the billiard-table at Warsaw; when my "horse can go no farther, I will follow you "on foot; I neither want horse nor money."

I was surprised at this proof of thoughtless folly; but what was to be done? I could only pay the money in exchange, and we journeyed on to Vienna. Here a new misfortune besel the second horse. When

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Schell wanted money, and intended to have fold him for two hundred florins, he found him strangled by his halter at the manger.

We had not been a month in this city before I had the good fortune to obtain a commission for him, of first lieutenant, in the regiment of Pallavicini, through the interest of prince Charles of Lorrain, to whom he had been recommended by my cousin Trenck. This regiment was in Italy, and destined for the siege of Genoa.

I equipped Schell, gave him money, and fent him on his journey. Some time after, when I supposed him already with his regiment, I received a very laconic letter from him, dated at Gratz, in which he informed me that fortune had played him a new trick, that he had lost all his money, his watch, and horse, and that if I could not once more assist him, he must manage for himself in the best manner he was able.

I happened at this time to have received a fupply from Berlin, and fent him five hundred florins, with which he proceeded into Italy. This money, however, was little

more

more successful than the former. He had imprudently borrowed of a friend to pay his. gaming debts, and afterward, still more im-s prudently, made use of the regimental money; when, having no better expedient, he deferted in company with a forager. What highly aggravated his fault was, that he entered into the service of a power with which the Imperialists were then at war. He fent me information, in a tone of the utmost levity, that he was now a corporal in the fervice of the Genoese.

The behaviour of Schell was highly injuricus to all Prussian officers who after him entered into the service of Austria; but he was wholly incapable of a reflection of this

Fortunately for him I found an opportunity of recommending him to the Venetian ambassador at Vienna: I once more sent him money, and was so active in his behalf, that in the space of a few months he obtained a commission.

Strange to tell! he quitted this service the very fame year, and entered as a common

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foldier under the duke of Modena. He sent me notice of this change, and requested assistance. Baron Lopresti, of whom I have so often spoken in these volumes, had friends in Modena; and I once more obtained a commission for, and once more equipped, Schell. His own personal safety, however, constrained him then to assume the name of Lesch.

Unhappy is the destiny of a man who is obliged to conceal the name of his family, before he dare affociate among worthy men. This misfortune happened to Schell; although he possessed, in reality, a sensible and good heart; but his passion for play, and total want of thought, led him astray from the paths of honour, and brought him to wander over the earth like a vagabond.

Once more, thanks to my interest, behold him a lieutenant in Modena, where he was generally beloved and esteemed, and where he had taken the firm resolution of never gaming more, and of leading a less dissipated life. Perhaps he would have executed intentions so wise, but they were rendered bortive by his former sollies

At the request of the duke of Modena, the empress-queen sent some of her officers to instruct his regiment in certain new military manœuvres, and, among thefe, unluckily, happened to be two officers belonging to the regiment of Pallavicini. No fooner was Schell informed of this, than, dreading to be discovered, as he infallibly must have been had he staid, he once more deserted from Modena, and entered, as a common foldier, in the fervice of Sardinia, in the Swifs regiment of Souter.

Again he wrote, to inform me of this new change, but I was then mourning in my dungeon at Magdeburg, totally unable to be of use to him or myself, When released from my chains, in December 1763, and once more permitted to appear on the scene, I sent to inquire after my friend at Modena, but could hear no tidings of where, or what he

Happening, in 1769, to be at the house of the Sardinian envoy at Vienna, I there, by chance, met a captain Renard, of the Swifs regiment of Souter. The conversation turned on many Prussian officers, whom fortune eur Maid

had ill-treated, and Renard highly praised a person of the name of Lesch, who served in his company in the quality of foraging fecretary. After various questions and inquiries, I perceived this Lesch could be no other than my friend Schell. I immediately wrote to him, and received an answer, which deserves to be remembered .- I fent him money, but this he returned, and, informed me, that he had no longer any need of affiftance; that he had bidden adieu to all superfluous vanities; that he lived tranquilly on the perquifites of his place, on what he gained by teaching languages, drawing, and music, and by his knowledge of embroidery; and that thefe, together, procured him much more than was necessary. He added, that he was esteemed, beloved, and fought after; that he was in good health, had learned to be an œconomist, and that he would not change his fituation for the most splendid fortune; finally, that he never more would receive any thing from me; that I had already done too much for him; and that it was time I should take care of myself.

Affected as I was by his present manner of thinking,

thinking, I made various propositions to him for the improvement of his fortune; but he persisted in his resolution, contented to remain in his garrison at Alexandria, and desirous of nothing more than of once again seeing me before he died.

In 1772, when I was at Aix-la-Chapelle, I was aftonished to see Schell, my friend, enter my chamber: the reader of sensibility will easily imagine my joy. He had walked on foot from the farther part of Europe to Aix-la Chapelle, purposely to see me.—He related his history to me circumstantially; but of this I have forgotten the greatest part: I only remember that many of the incidents were exceedingly romantic.

Pleasure was the only end of his existence. His love of Italy had originated in his love of pleasure. Purposely to procure himself the society of the most youthful, and the most charming, of the semale sex, he had learnt to embroider in gold, and to perform the most curious works of women. He also taught them several languages, wrote charming verses, and, by his talents, had made himself so agreeable

able to the fociety he delighted in, that he had passed the last sisteen years of his life in the manner he thought most delightful.

He continued four months at my house, during which he amused himself in instructing my children. This office he performed with peculiar kindness and affability, and gained the affection of all to whom he was known: but he loved a peaceable and retired life; he was, in reality, become a most rational man. His mind, that had formerly been fo quick, fo alive, had loft its vivacity; he was thoughtful, absent, and often unconnected in converfation. The change became fo great, that his only occupation was to read, or to walk in his chamber, with an air, inevery appearance, of profound melancholy. I foon observed that time was tedious to him at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that his heart fighed for Alexandria. 112 form this being white of flore a trio gra-

When he had been a month at my house, as he was walking, deep in thought, he fell into one of the moats of the city, and dislocated his shoulder, in which state he was brought home.

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His patience and fortitude, in this fituation, were remarkable; he did not utter a fingle complaint.

After his recovery, he wrote some poetry, but his verses were very unequal to those he had written in the fire of youth. When I beheld him, and contemplated his countenance and behaviour, I could not avoid foreboding that my poor friend Schell would soon become insane.

He was conscious of this himself; but, said he, I have a small quantity of powder, very proper to cure this missortune, as well as every other infirmity of old age, and by the aid of which men may defy all the efforts of sate.

The temper of the man, however, still continued the same. Had I said to him,—
"Schell, thou must avenge my cause, a desure potic king has rendered me miserable,"—
I am certain he would have gone to Potsdam, without staying a moment to consider, and on the public parade would have executed all that revenge could have inspired.

He showed me the scars of sixteen* wounds, some of which he had received in defence of my honour. He never drew his sword that he was not wounded. He had fractured his arm, and bones in both seet, by accidents;—thanks to those eternal reveries which, in broad day light, led him to the edge of some precipice! His sword was in his hand on the smallest occasion, and he laughed in the sace of danger.

The stories of his youthful gallantries were some of them strange. I much regret that his writings, both philosophical and moral, never sell into my hands, and that they were buried with himself. He made great progress in the study of anatomy, and his sole purpose was to discover whether there really could be any thing immortal in the body of man, and, if possible, to explain, what actuated the machine, and what was the origin of our passions, without having recourse to metaphysical reasoning †.

I wished

^{*} One edition reads four. T.

[†] The boy is faid to have cut open the bellows to look for the wind. T.

I wished him to have remained longer with me; but his leave of absence was almost ended, and he desired to return and die at Alexandria. One day, I perceived his usual taciturnity and gloom were increased, and the next morning I found Schell was departed, and had lest the following letter on my bureau.

"My Friend,

You already have many children: how many more you may have, who can fay? You are happy in the possession of the most amiable of wives; I am but a burthen to you; you are little enabled to be at any expence for me, and I am not, at present, inconsiderate enough to abuse your friendship. The duty of a father is now, to you, the most facred of duties. I return contented with having once more seen you, and with leaving you in good health.

"Most probably, we never shall meet "again. Do not disturb yourself concerning "me; I am in need of nothing, and shall" "find every thing necessary to my happiness "at Alexandria: your company alone will be

" wanting; but of that it is proper I should

" deprive myself. I would not that you

" fhould fuffer the least injury for my fake.

"Perverse and wicked men have robbed

" you of your fortune. If there be an eternal

"God, who interferes in the affairs of men,

" he will become your support, he will re-

" ward, he will preferve and make you happy

" in your family. If not, and should even

" your virtues and your labours all be loft

" to futurity, yet do they, in this world, find

" a noble recompense, in the conscious recti-

" tude of the heart. In the enjoyment of

"this, few men, indeed, will be found your

"equals; consequently you are happy in your-

" felf, and in defiance of fate.

To me you owe nothing; you have

" done more for me than even gratitude and

"friendship themselves could exact.

" True it is, I brought you from Glatz;

"but perhaps your after fufferings would

" have been much less severe, had I never

" existed. What I did, likewise, I did more

" from refentment to the king, and to Fou-

" quet,

"quet, than from the defire of serving you, "therefore was not my enterprise the pure effect of commiseration and affection,—my interest bore a part in it. I was stripped of all support, and ashamed of living, descripised in a garrison regiment. I repent not of the actions of my life, being certain that my follies did but tend to make me a wifer and a better man. I believe in this, "you think like me; I am satisfied with the time present, and indisterent concerning that to come.

"Should monarchs, hereafter, do you "justice in any degree, fail not to write to "me.

"Your son Joseph, under your guidance, "possesses all the qualities necessary to be come a great man; the conviction of this has given me much pleasure, and must to you be a subject of infinite satisfaction. "Tell your respectable lady that I honour her, return her thanks for all her kindness, and congratulate the choice she made of a man who knew her worth. Yes, my friend, you are happy in a wife, and therefore must

"must certainly have no cause to repent to

"find yourself an inhabitant of this earth.

"When I perceive I can live no longer,

"I will send you a last letter. It is your

"duty to remain here; you have children,

"whom you must not desert. I know no

" other cause of regret for your fake, should

" misfortune in future befall you.

"Be under no concern relative to the ex-

" pences of my journey. I have the watch

" which you gave me, as well as the fix gui-

" neas with which I was to have paid the

" tailor; and my feet will still render me the

" fame fervice they performed thirty years

" ago, when we travelled together through

" Poland. may rabon deplot not no

Were we not, even then, much hap-

" pier than princes, who are whirled luxuri-

"oully in coaches through their defolated

"countries ? infallo flair

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1 leave you the journal of this fingular

expedition, which I preserved, that it might

" recall to your mind the incidents well worthy

" of finding a place in the history of your life.

May you live in health and happiness!

" may

"may you live distant from courts, and un"embarrassed by public assairs! for the dis"charge of which you are but ill-sitted by
"your dauntless candour. They would but
"bring you into new troubles. Quit Aix"la-Chapelle also if you can; you are de"tested by the monks; hypocrites will never
"want occasion to injure you, and, in your
"decline of life, will find the means to rob
"you of that repose you have so well de"ferved. God preserve you from their ve"nom. I tremble while I recollect this, ac"quainted as I am with your daring spirit."

"Let me intreat you to become some"what more of an œconomist; let me in"treat you to act less generously toward an
"ungrateful world; in fine, let me intreat

" you to become more prudent.

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"Should we see clearly, and think nobly,

"yet were it best to sigh, be silent, and wisely

"to enjoy: so act, and so shall nothing be

"wanting to your tranquillity. Avoid Vi
"enna—There, those who have illegally

"acquired, will illegally endeavour to main
"tain themselves in the possession of your

"estates.

seftates. The empress acts under the guid-

" ance of her priefts, from whom you can ex-

" pect nothing but contempt and perfecution.

"Be the past a lesson to you, and a guide

" for the future. Hope nothing from unre-

" lenting princes; risk nothing for the barren

" honour of rendering them fervice; let your

" future motto be, ' I feek only virtue.'

"We have almost run our race; we both

" foon alike shall cease to be; but we both

" are acquainted with death, and shall ad-

" vance to meet him with a ferene front. So

" long as I have life I shall be ready, at all

"times and on all occasions, as I ever have

"been, to part with that life in defence of

" your injured honour.

"In this resolution, and impressed with

" the liveliest gratitude, this day departs one,

" who to his last breath will remain

" Your friend,

" ALEXANDER SCHELL."

It may well be supposed I was exceedingly affected by this farewell, and by the manner of it, especially when I had no means of conveying

veying the money to my friend, necessary to perform his journey. Some few days after, I was obliged to go to Vienna. While I was in Frankfort, I, by chance, met in the street the worthy Schell, who was there endeavouring to gain intelligence concerning his parents. We continued two days longer together, and I did every thing in my power to dissuade him from pursuing his journey, but in vain. It was with great difficulty I could prevail on him to accept twenty guineas, by the aid of which he might arrive, with somewhat less fatigue, at his place of destination. At length, we both took an eternal and last adieu, and parted.

About three weeks after, I received the following letter from him at Vienna:

" Dear friend,

"At Frankfort you obliged me to accept twenty guineas, money which belonged to "your children, and the depriving yourself of which was, most probably, of great in convenience. Somewhat, however, to recompense your benevolence, may you, virtuous

"tuous man, participate the sensibility, the pleasure, the good, which accompanied these twenty guineas in the cottage of a poor peasant! May the benedictions be verified, with which your name was promounced by an old man of eighty-two, almost expiring with hunger, in company with his wise, and the remainder of his family! Benedictions, uttered with eyes raised to Heaven, when their long-lost fon, Schell, so unexpectedly entered their wretched cabin, and with him brought the means of aid and consolation!

"Oh, noble Trenck, that I could describe the scene such as it really was! then, indeed, should you weep. During sour and twenty years, my parents had never received any intelligence of me, and supposed me dead. I knew they had been ruined by a law suit in the imperial court, and I would not add to their missortunes by informing them of my own.

"My father had discarded me from his heart, after having heard I had so lightly quitted the Prussian service!—after being told

" told that my name was nailed up to the gal" lows at Glatz!

"My mother had wept; but the afflictions
of her family, and the poverty of her other
children, had effaced from her memory him
whom she had formerly hoped would become the support of her house, and the
prop of her old age.

"My eldest sister I found almost dying with hunger, in her bed, where she had twelve years lain paralytic. The youngest was infane, and her distracted sits were fometimes so violent that she was obliged to be tied down.

"My eldest brother, who had obtained the rank of major in the Prussian service, was broken in consequence of my adventure at Glatz, and is, at present, a corporal in the service of Denmark, where he has taken another name. My formerly brave, and now ancient sather, all in rags, and as flicted with the dropsy, was seated in an old arm chair; and my aged mother, of seventy, was obliged to act as servant, nurse, and provider, for the whole house.

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At the time that I arrived, several days had passed, and they had nothing better than dry bread for their sood, waiting the end of the month. You have been informed that the prince, by whom they were ruined, granted them a pension of nine florins per month*! For this they were obliged to pray for him, thank him, and tremble in his presence.

"They had no fire, and these poor old people were crouching close together, half naked, to keep each other warm. That very day they happened to mention their lost son; they were exhorting each other patiently to endure their afflictions; and while thus suffering, I entered their hut, and myself known, and brought them aid.

"God of Heaven! where are the words
"that shall describe what I selt?—I stood
"motionless, at beholding wretchedness like
"this, and dumb! They were dumb also.
"I recovered, recollected I had guineas,

[.] About twenty fhillings.

" and threw them on the table. - 'Is this mo-

" ney thy own, my fon?' faid my mother.-

Yes, mother, answered I, they are honour-

" ably acquired; I bring them to yield you

" momentary fupport.

"Surprise and joy stushed in every face; "my aged father bathed me with his pater-

" nal tears, and my mother hung, weeping,

" round my neck. The poor paralytic in-

"treated she might once again make a good

" meal, and her still more unfortunate sister

" leaped and capered, without knowing

" wherefore.

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"After we had in some degree recovered our proper senses, and I had briefly an"swered their inquiring questions, a fire was made, and meat was put down to roast.

"Yes, my friend; the samily seated them"selves round a table, that had long not been

" fo loaded, and I had the pleasure to regale

"them with your money, to revive my pa-"rents, languishing in misery, and on the

"borders of the grave, and to change the

" paternal malediction into the fincerest bles-

" fings and prayers.

"To you am I indebted for this day of "joy,—the brightest, the happiest of my life; "for had I not had your money, I should "never have returned to the house of my father.—'Tis true, also, I never should have been a spectator of wretchedness like their's, and should have died reckless and indifferent. I now have an additional reamon fon to live; I have parents to provide for, and they stand in need of provision. I will hasten to Alexandria, hasten to obtain moment of their support, for now only do I begin to be reconciled to life.

"I shall not inform you in what place I "found this most unfortunate family: you "would deprive me of the satisfaction of la"bouring for them. I well know the bene"volence of your heart, and I well know "you have nothing you ought to give.
"Yet you shall be informed hereafter, and "shall become my successor, in order that "I may die untormented, when I feel my end approach, and shall be no more able to afford them sustenance.

I continued with them nine days, and "three

"three entire guineas were expended in

" making ourselves merry. Yesterday I lest.

"fifteen upon the table, with my watch, and

" a letter, as I did when I took my leave of

" you at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thus avoided

" the too great pain of parting.

"I now proceed on foot toward Alexandria,

" and certainly with more true courage than

" Alexander himself, when marching, at the

" head of his victorious army, toward Baby-

"lon. Never were guineas better expended,

"never employed to a more holy pur-

" pose, than those you gave me at Frank-

" fort. Henceforward I have but one inten-

"tion to fulfil; and this, I hope, will be ful-

" filled by the exertion of my talents at Alex-

" andria. Money, my friend, is become a

"thing most precious, though my poor pa-

" rents have learnt to vegetate on little.

"Live, my dear Trenck! live in content

" and health! If, foon or late, you should

" return to your native country, may you,

" after a tedious banishment, acquire wealth

" to render those you love happy. If ever

" you should wish to benefit the children of

"Waldau, recollect what I said to you in "the forest near Hammer, when you would " have taken vengeance on an unfeeling, or, perhaps, only a fearful brother-in-law. " May the Almighty grant you this humane, " this Christian consolation. I hope here-" after your prospects will brighten, and I " honour the philanthropy of your heart. " Forget me not, I will write to you when-" ever I need your affistance; do you write " to me only once a year, and let me know " any fortunate event in the lituation of your " affairs. This letter will be fent from " Ulm. I have written it in Switzerland, and " a friend will put it into the post. May your virtues preserve you from new adversities! " and may heaven, or earth, reward you for " the past!

"As I have lived, fo shall I die,
"Your grateful,
"And, most affuredly,
"Your very faithful friend,
"ALEXANDER SCHELL,"

Secretary to the regiment of Souter, at Alexandria, in the service of the king of Sardinia. Since this letter, I received many others from him, all written in the same style. In one of the last he informed me that an old lady had bequeathed him effects, to the value of a hundred and sisty ducats, by will. His joy, at being able to send that sum to his parents, who were then living, was inexpressible. These letters I have lost, and, indeed, they would only unnecessarily add to the length of this narrative.

After a silence of two years I received the following:

" The dying Schell to his friend Trenck."

"When this shall come to your hand I "shall be no more; my term of existence draws to a conclusion: never did man, dear friend, forsake this sublunaty world with more tranquillity than I shall in a few hours; and after I have once more, with as much presence of mind as I am capable of, sent you this last testimony of living gratitude.

" The

"The last years of my life have passed

" undisturbed away; almost had I forgotten

"that the name of my family was Schell,

" having for forty years affurned that of

" Lesch, and having, without regret, bidden

" adieu to all honourable titles."

"I beheld you happy, my friend, and I

" leave you in peace and content. My aged

father and mother have been two years

"dead. I enjoyed the pleasure of procuring

" them necessaries, and even somewhat more,

"during their few latter days of life. My

" paralytic fifter died about fix weeks ago;

" and the poor frantic girl knows not that

" fhe wants any thing, therefore wants not.

" She lives merrily in the mad-house, and

" imagines herfelf to be the holy Rebecca."

"The woman whom I loved has lately

" married a young husband: may he make

"her happy! This is not a moment to in-

"dulge jealoufy. Wate I was bloom a treated

"I am at this instant racked by the stone;

" nor is that all—I am in a confumption;

" and these diseases combined have ren-

" dered

"dered me a living skeleton. My phy-

" fician has observed indubitable fymptoms

" of my approaching end; I myself am fully,

" fensible of them, and, in a few days, or in,

" a few hours, shall cease to suffer.

"I have now nothing to hope, and nothing to fear. In this letter I fend you the last.

"tokens of a long and fincere friendship.

" My dying foul will still live in you, nor

" shall I be all dead, so long as you shall

" continue to live. My expiring wishes for

" your prosperity transfix themselves to this

" paper—they take their flight from my

" brain, like a dream, at the moment of my.

"diffolution. Live while you may, and

" hasten not, dear friend, to follow me.

"Honour, fame, and posterity, to me are

" things wholly indifferent. I die unknown,

" and my name dies with me. --- Beware

" of the prisons of Glatz, Magdeburg, and

" Spielberg! Schell dies, and you will find a

" Schell no more:

316TH

"I leave no one behind me who flands

" in need of your aid, or whom I am in duty

" bound to recommend to your benevolence:

" no, my friend! I am no longer any thing

" to you. Could I partake the sensibility of

" your heart, it would but occasion me fruit-

" less regret, and disturb the repose of this

" last farewell.

"Repine not, weep not, rather laugh; let

" the last moments of the crazy Schell be a

" fubject of mirth; -he himself has laughed,

" on the world's great theatre, beholding the

" deepest tragedies; -laughing he quits the

" fcene, and the curtain for ever falls.

" My fenses are overpowered, they slum-

" ber, my eyes are inclined to close, and my

" foul wifnes for reft: I foon shall sleep, and

"fleep without dreaming, nor shall I ever

" rife from this bed, to enjoy waking dreams."

"Oh Trenck, my last thoughts are friend-

" ship, gratitude, and the most ardent prayers

" for your prosperity.

" So dies,

" ALEXANDER, once SCHELL,
" at present LESCH.

" Alexandria, 24th of May, 1776."

The very day I received this letter, I

wrote to the regiment; and the answer sent back was, that he had been found dead in his bed the 26th of May, having written farewell letters to his colonel and his friends, by all of whom he was regretted. His captain had made a collection of his heroic odes and his satires, written in the Italian language, which may some time perhaps appear under another name; and if they should, will certainly do honour to some ignorant impostor.

Peace be to thy manes, amiable Schell! Thou wert worthy a better destiny; for the soibles of thy youth were injurious only to thyself.

Apologies to others, and vindications of myself and my bonour, with respect to assertions contained in, and offences that have been taken at, my writings.

NOT the fear of farther displeasing the wicked and the vile; not the dread of being still persecuted by sharpers, monks, pedants, intriguing

intriguing courtiers, and paltry knaves; not the dread of illiberal and abortive criticism; nor any, nor all of these, here give birth to apology or justification. I have more ferious employment, that of at last enjoying content and ease: of terminating a career of difficulties, chains, and punishment, unparalleled with glory. I will no more stand forth the rash opponent of ignorant millions. It is honour sufficient for me, that the worthy, the virtuous, and the friends of men, have been my protectors. Had I, indeed, only injured this fmaller part of fociety, the number of my enemies had not been for great, nor had they been fo all puissant: neither would they have been so base in artifice, so irreconcileable in hatred. I shudder and flart back from the precipice, when I contemplate the abyss into which, by rashness, or perhaps fortitude, not to be shaken, I might have been headlong plunged.

The daggers of sharpers, gamblers, and monks, all were drawn. Those noble gentlemen, who, offended at my essay on "True Nobility," had not, with their patent titles, purchased

chased noble hearts, would have been glad I were dispatched. Heaven was promised from the pulpits as the price of heretical blood. Heretic, be it said apart, is the epithet bestowed on those who dare openly attack the avarice and ambition of priests. The good old matrons prayed for my soul, as for one miserably consigned to perdition. The deceivers, and the deceived together, cried—" Crucify him!"——

Unsupported, among these high-born vulgar, long I lived. Good men approved and applauded my writings; but approbation was all.—I will write no more.

Let other German moralists now enter the lists; let each perform as much as I have done; and let them not retire from toil, till they have reasons equally coercive to adduce. So shall our country soon awaken from her slumbers, soon shall learn who are the executioners, the torturers of reason; soon shall shake off her gross prejudices; and, by the promotion of science, shall rise great and worthy of herself! Her practical Christians shall then be more virtuous than were her holiday holiday faints;—church dignitaries shall tremble in their stalls, and the renown of the ancient German shall revive.

To obtain a purpose so glorious, have I laboured with zeal, destructive to mysels; but, be the consequences what they may, it were sinful to repent.

Such being my refolution, I may here be confidered as an expiring author, who, repentant sinner like, takes a mournful leave of the fraternity of reformers. Therefore do I firetch out my hand, defirous of reconciliation with all who imagine themselves injured by the truths I have told, or who have been angered to behold themselves unmasked. I hope they will not be so cruel as to demand I should bestow slagellation on myself, because I erected myself a preacher of repentance, without having first studied, under a Jesuit mountebank, in formâ theologica. As my irritability is well known, and as I never condescended to petition princes themselves twice for what I thought my due, be advised, good firs, and pardon me quickly, or I shall perhaps quickly fall into my

my old vice, and defend myfelf and truth with all the fury of a desperadoe.

Kind reader, thou indubitably knowest constitutional diseases are not easily cured, therefore wilt not expect I should forget my nature, and cease to speak and to maintain truth. If I strike wide, when battling to bring down folly and vice, pardon and direct me better.—So ends my preamble *.

In the first volume of my writings, the dedication to madam Justitia gave so much offence at Vienna, that it was prohibited.— Whenever in Vienna they shall think proper to do me right, I will then make a full and

* An abstract only of what follows in the German is translated: much of it relates to the baron's other works; but as those other works, in fact, form a part of his history, it will probably not be displeasing to obtain some information concerning them.—The strongest passages and thoughts have been selected, the necessary liberties of a free translation taken, and transpositions of sentences made, suitable either to connection or to the subject. T.

public reparation to the insulted honour of this good lady.

My ridicule on the parchment titles of nobility, in the third volume, has so much offended many of our most serene Dons, that I expected some one at least among them would have mounted his Rosinante, and me have desied, detractor and caitisf vile, to mortal combat.

Fortunately for me, I was deceived. They, honourable gentlemen, leave hardy enterprise, and dire desence, to the sleeping bones of their ancestors. They can serve the state in night-caps and morning-gowns; and his excellency, the lord high-cook, can sagaciously issue orders that the hare shall be roasted, which his serene highness, the master of the hounds, has heroically vanquished.

Happy consequence of wisdom in government! To you, ye scions of nobility, do all places of honour, profit, and power descend, as is by right of birth your due. Innately ye are nobly; to think and act nobly were superfluous.

fuperfluous. Why should you defend or instruct base burghers, or rascally hinds, who most humbly, most dutifully, are bounden to labour and starve, that you may sleep and fatten?

What rashness was it in me to write on Honour! I, alas! had forgotten that honour, and honourable office, depend on the capricious will of an arbitrary monarch, who alone is the fountain of honour, the judge of honour, and who alone honour can confer! Wherefore did I dream of merit, genius, or the native honour of the heart? Fie on fuch ignorance! Yes, ever honourable worthies, it is but just I should humbly crave forgiveness; I, who have written thus unwittingly, without permission from the powers that be! But ye are avenged, and I am punished. No titles have I; no ribbands, stars, or glorious badges. Thefe, fo gross was my conception, I supposed I might have had, and have remained an honest man!

I have attended at levees; have waited in anti-chambers; have there conversed with ancient officers, like me, attending also. Their Their cicatrifed wounds were ineffectual pleaders. The fpruce gentleman-usher held their names unworthy to be pronounced in the royal ear. We discoursed on the best of all possible worlds, and iron tears stole down their manly cheeks. Reasoning, with bitter conference, as we flood, we have feen a fumptuous vehicle approach, drawn by fix fleeds, proudly champing: before it were running footmen; behind, hey-dukes and merry-andrews; and within-yes! his excellency! Stately stept he forth, by slaves supported in the dangerous descent. The fwarming crowd proftrate themselves. Yet no grim Turk is he, but beardless seventeen. The buttons of his coat were each a diamond: over his mighty shoulder no gorgon shield was thrown, but gracefully the broad ribband hung. From his pocket pendent was a key. -All wondered; all asked-" Who is he " that approaches thus with cheek inflated?" Not Boreas, gentlemen-nor Eurus-No -his highness, his serene highness! a prince! a prince of the empire! a knight of the order! a chamberlain, a privy counsellor; the fon fon of a—usurer! a lord of eight millions! millions which he nobly expends, thus to become great! thus to be dignified! thus to be titled! Great as he is now, what shall he be when of age?

For one fo mighty, knowledge will be an incumbrance, and thought supersuous; therefore hath he written to Rome, and Rome shall send him a father-confessor, who shall relieve him of the labour of thinking.—Padua, too, shall send him a bustoon, with black gown and tie wig, who shall take especial care of his estate: Let others as it is for him only to enjoy.

Parting from my honest veterans, home I went, described what I had seen, for I am afraid I never shall for sake old habits, but intreated the friend to whom I wrote never to make my letter public. The world, alas! might doubt the sincerity of my reformation; nay, might call this my recantation a fatire! a libel! Heaven forbid, my friend!—For God's sake tear, burn my letter!—His highness can pay referendaries, advocates, and curators, better than I. I may once again become

become mad—No, no, I will humbly petition.—I will not increase an evil I cannot cure.

To err is human, but obstinately to persist in error were devilish.—Therefore pardon, pardon!—I repent! I will be very good in suture! My children shall not be taught to think, for I will provide them with an abbé, or an Exjesuit, and they shall be educated for highnesses and cardinals.

Yes, noble Zetto, Kronsdorf, Krugel, and ye other nobles, from A to Z, I deserve your mighty wrath.-What! refuse to pay for your patents of nobility! So well too as I knew your worth !- I am justly punished. -God eternally forbid I should object to your high and noble dignities; I affirm you more ignoble in nature than the rudest of the rabble—I call you the pest of society—Oh no!-No, no, no!-Though you are in the house of correction, you have noble succesfors, and I will write no libel by inuendo-I!-Heaven bless your worthy worships! May the mob bow down before your patent titles! may your welfare be preferred to that of justice and the common-weal!

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And ye, noble ecclesiastics, whose all-dispensing power, trafficking in indulgences, can purchase earthly titles, till your heavenly shall be ripe—Ye, who living luxuriously, yet are certain to die blessed! I hold it sit and safe here to promise you I will daily repeat three Pater nosters, and eke three Ave-Marias; not desirous ye should read in my sceptical heart all I think of ye.—I know ye peruse not such heretical writings as teach the duties of the citizen and the man.

I ask not your prayers, for, ah! I too well know my poor soul has long been consigned to perdition—I having even dared to doubt that ye are holy!

In my plan for the rectifying of abuses in the states of Austria, I was actuated by the purest and best of motives. I openly asserted what were the deserts of the judges of the courts; and all Vienna exclaimed against the rashness of my writings; yet was it asterward seen they were but prophetical. Experience has taught me wisdom. To reform the abuse

abuses of administration of justice is even more dangerous than to reform those of religion. How may a private individual make the attempt, when the monarch himself, so multiplied, so rooted are these abuses, dares not? Such is the true state of affairs, over which I sigh and draw the curtain. Sincerely do I pity those who need justice.

In this same volume I have written concerning the invisible vassalage of Bohemia. Of this I cannot repent, although the angry monks have condemned my soul to some millions of years of burning in purgatory. But in purgatory I will be content to burn, certain of the prayers of all good men for my speedy release. Till this vassalage of the mind is removed, never can the people know the rights of men. Pray, brethren, pray, that the singers with which I write this may not be changed into a devil's claw! nay, though ye should be monks, pray! for I certainly should tear those unfortunate friars, who should

should fall into my talons, most unmercifully.

And, with reverence be it spoken, your Luttheran devils are all as merciless as your Franciscan.

I have also, in my letters from Spa, been guilty of a crime more enormous than any the whole decalogue can afford; more heinous than the feven deadly fins collectively. I have faid that a gambler by profession could not possibly be an honest man; and that, by fair deduction, neither could those who share his ill-gotten gains. Herein have I most grossly and abominably finned against the holy catholic church, as the faro-table, for the godly plundering of strangers, is there publicly licensed by the bishop. Therefore, as a good Christian ought, do I must humbly supplicate the infallible priestly magistracy for forgiveness, wretched sinner as I am; who have publicly dared to doubt this infallibility. What, though I have written a notorious truth, fill, fince this truth offends, I deferve, as their high mightinesses in their Christian charity affirm, to be everlastingly VOL. III. roafted.

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roalted. I had forgotten that they have power in heaven; that there they are faints, and only remembered that on earth they are rascals. I will write no more on the poisons of Liege, the intrigues of courtesans, the curses of play, but will enjoy some sew days of rest on this side the grave. I will suppress the groans of a heart that has been rent, because it could not reform the follies and the vices of man.

The Macedonian Hero is a poem that, by the daringness with which it was written, might, indeed, well draw down the vengeance of tyranny. The confequences of my rashness have been bitter. Frederic acknowledged I had written truth; but Therefa demanded to know by whom I had been authorifed to write uth. The poem was prohibited, but escapd burning. Honest men lamented the dasdliness of their fellow flaves, who crouched I basely aided the ravagers of the earth; hile zealous republicans rejoiced. The world, however, feems to fink deeper than ever into the flough of flavery. We grovel in the dust, and offer up ineffectual prayers that God would

would be pleased to preserve us from heroes and their rapacity. Alas! new Alexanders, Tamerlanes, and Frederics, shall arise, and shall find new coadjutors.

I have also, in some of my works, said, that the handsome ladies of Aix-la-Chapelle graciously smile on their handsome young friars, and that the noble burghers, their husbands, wear their budding honours proudly; for with them it is a principle that men cannot be too much loaded with honour; they therefore hold themselves justified in assuming titles to which they have no claim: good reason is there, then, they should not be defrauded of an honourable appealation so justly their due. I pretend not that, even at Aix-la-Chapelle, the ugly are not virtuous; but it is exceedingly true, that they are assamed of their virtue.

For my own part, I have always pitied ugly women, and have been careful not to offend the handsome, so that matrons wish me prosperity, except those whose consciences are put under spiritual guardianship, and they indeed

D 2

frown,

frown, mumble anathemas, and fink me to the lowest of the infernal regions, there in eternal darkness to affociate with the accursed Luther, and the heretic Voltaire.

at lave allo, in tonic of my works, dail,

I must farther remark, that, through all my writings, there reigns a manifest and decided hatred against knavery, deceit, and fuperstition. In the country where I resided, I beheld a herd, an army of priefts, wallowing in luxury, reigning with worse than despotic authority over the minds of all. What rational and thinking man but must shudder, must lament aloud, that such multitudes of God's creatures should be thus chained, riveted in ignorance, by a host of idle impostors, who are, or ought to be, paid to enlighten and instruct them in all the duties of men, but who, on the contrary, live in pride, and debauchery, fuck their very blood, destroy moral virtues, fraternal and true Christian duties, and promite heaven to the most abandoned of villains, to profligates, cheats, and affaffins!

Oh God!—How dismal, how dreadful is the prospect! where bigotry has the power and the will to kill all the seeds of natural reason! Yet this I beheld wherever the ruling prince was a churchman. This I beheld throughout the whole Austrian states.

The spectacle made my very heart weep blood. I beheld the Pope, and all his armed legions, as omnipotent in Vienna as at Rome.

I beheld and wrote. Thoughts friendly to the human race instinctively flowed from my pen. I forgot my own safety, irritated the worst of passions in the worst of men; and could I wonder I had enemies?

Irreconcileable in hatred, a priest pursues the wretch who has dared to discover his wickedness and fraud, through succeeding generations, till his name and race be rooted from the earth: nor ends here, but, insatiable in revenge, after insticting all earthly pangs, delivers him and his over to eternal torment. This is what is properly called the vengeance of the ministers of the merciful God!

Sorry am I that I could not more effec-

tually aid the poor, deceived, enflaved world: it is under the dominion of cureless witchcraft!

Instead of prohibiting the intermarriages and multiplication of Jews, princes would effectually serve the world, and diminish the blood sucking swarm, were they to oblige every man to take the following oath before he were made a monk.

"That the candidate for this state of sanc"tity is totally incapable of rendering service
"to his fellow creatures; that he is unfit for
"a soldier, mechanic, or husbandman; and
"that he is wholly destitute of powers, bodi"ly or mental, to make himself useful to so"ciety."

I have yet to apologife concerning the two first volumes of this history, in which I have highly offended various species of wicked men.

wickeners and Althor ches

Frederic the Great, who, by the breath of his power, entailed misery upon me, who

gave me sufficient cause to speak truth undifguisedly, will, certainly, in his now enlightened state, behold the moderate manner in which I have justified myself, with very different eyes to what he would, had he, while on earth, perused it with all the perversity of despotic obstinacy, and clouded by the prejudices of human weakness. He now is unable to prevent my publicly defending that honour which had been publicly injured. I have spoken of him with caution and refpect. I have every where excused the error of a monarch who, being man, was by men deceived. Probably he had reasons for not doing me justice, which I shall never recite, as I will not involve the reputation of a friend in my own unfortunate deftiny. May he, therefore, rest in peace. That posterity which may erect monuments to his fame certainly shall raise no pillar of shame over my grave. This is honour fufficient to one unremittingly persecuted by him, and treated as a malefactor. He is gone, I am here. 'Tis honour sufficient that the reigning monarch has given unrestricted privilege

to circulate this history through his states, and that a host of witnesses to its veracity are still living.

Of what happened to me at Vienna I have loudly complained, and boldly written; but I have written truths,—truths which the records and acts of court will prove,—truths which the present monarch has privileged to be publicly circulated in this work. This royal privilege, at Berlin and Vienna, is equally honourable to the sovereign and to my veracity.

The emperor, indeed, has not thought fit to ordain a revision of my cause. He must believe the report of his judges, and must continue so to believe, though he should afterward condemn these judges to sweep the streets!

The honest man does not believe himself infallible, readily acknowledges, when convinced, he has been in an error, and is neither too unjust, nor too proud, to repair the evil he has committed by pronouncing a hasty sentence. Let me hope there are judges who, hereaster, will draw down my warmest bless-

my heaviest maledictions.

I have also spoken of general Fouquet.

A person had intended to have printed his correspondence with the Great Fréderic, but desisted from the undertaking, because I had not spoken of him with proper respect.

Should this person, when he shall publish such correspondence, with to write an eulogium on his hero, I can supply him with a sew anecdotes, which will greatly tend to illustrate his true character.

I was myself acquainted with nine worthy officers whom he had ruined, and obliged to desert, by his tyrannical conduct.

I am well informed of his cruelties toward the townspeople of Glatz, whom he caused to be mutilated and hung. The whole country was a witness of his barbarity; and although he was loyal to his sovereign, he still was a tyrant whenever he had the power. With respect to myself, he treated me, while his prisoner, in the meanest manner.

His conduct toward the Justinian prisoners, as related to me by an eye-witness, would, were

it made public, do his memory but little honour. The defenceless dead, however, shall by me be no more named. I despised him living; and men, who act so basely, merit contempt also in the grave.

Many of the ill deeds of my deceased enemies I have mentioned, because they were before well known: many of my living enemies I have spared, and these, perhaps, may give me thanks.

To the possessor of my Sclavonian estates I wish good appetites at my board. They stole them not, but inherited them from fathers who were desirous of leaving heirs rich in land, and poor in honour. One of these successors of my cousin was, not long since, confined in the Spielberg. The others are not happy. It is possible a time may come, when my children shall say—" Begone! "You have long enough enjoyed the Trenck "estates; it is now our turn!"——Happily I never yet besought an alms at my own door.

The honourable burghers of Dantzic, who gave me up, and suffered me to be plundered, a. e dead; perhaps their successors may make

reparation, as far as is in their power. Weingarten, and Abramson, are dead also. I pity the hangman, who, by some unaccountable chance, was robbed of his perquisites, for Weingarten died a natural death.

Jaschinsky is living. I forbore to visit him when at Königsberg, for I would not remind him, in his old age, of what must hang gloomy over his memory. He has my forgiveness. I cannot refrain, however, here relating how severe are the punishments of a bad conscience. When I arrived at Königsberg, he loft his understanding, and became lunatic. The whole town was witness of this strange event. I have, also, fully discovered he was, as I supposed, the forger of the letter which, in the year 1746, was the cause of my ruin. His motive was interest: he was. indebted to me three hundred ducats. A part of my rich equipage the prefent general Baron Posadowsky bought of Jaschinfky himself; and he further received a sum granted him by the king, that was deducted from my confiscated estates. He is still infane.

D. 6

Now

Now I am apologifing, it is but just I should intreat forgiveness of some few invisible persons, whom I cannot but have offended; -and first, the seraphic father, St. Francis. Pardon, holy fir, for having rendered thy whole order contemptible! Whoever, like me, has beheld these odoriferous, though not sweet-scented, seraphines, at their gluttonous tables, their wine barrels, and their confessional chairs, will, if he be wife, pass, on the other fide of the way. Thee, holy Francis, I intreat to take them to thy own abodes; rob this unworthy world of fuch a godly crew; and fuffer that, fifty years hence, their names only be remembered! Thou best canst inform us, how well pleased the Father of the World must be daily to hear fuch multitudes of Herculean faints employ themselves, and importune his ear, with the eternal repetition of Ave Maria! Ave Maria! Ave Maria!

What thou wilt say to that arch enemy of man, Satan, when he, and his infernal adjutants shall come, laden with the sins of thy feraph-

feraphines, and, infulting, lay them at the foot-stool of divine justice, I know not. Neither can I say, when the heavenly host have, per contra, gathered together the good works of all thy tribe, what balance shall remain for the supererogation magazine, established at Rome.

and a feeter cooking that were care care

derect a mike in articoun.

If honour, justice, and virtue, bring good to man, then have I occasioned much disquiet to those vassal fiends that are stationed by the mighty Lucifer, as centinels, to watch or patrole the earth, for the general weal of his empire. My writings have incited the reader to act like a good Christian and an honest man; the doctrines of monks are more friendly to their cause, and give these industrious devils much less trouble.

Most humbly, therefore, do I solicit pardon from the horned Belzebub, the grim Mammon, and the terrific Belial, confessing their potencies: I never was a catholic Christian, such as they admire. From my guardian angel I intreat forgiveness for all the trouble I have given him; and it certainly has not been a little to guard a Trenck from dashing his foot against a stone, or his head against the axe of the holy inquisition. He has well fulfilled his duty, and deserves eternal rest, never more to undergo a task so arduous.

I doubt, indeed, he has been guilty of one gross oversight. He certainly permitted Satan to inspire me with the desire of taking up the pen; nay, afterwards, suffered him to guide my hand. Wherefore did he not, like Luther, take up the ink-stand, and throw it at his head? I then should not have written so rashly against gamblers, monks, and despots. It may be, indeed, he endured a present evil to secure a future good. Satan may have been outwitted.

Of the Almighty (with serious awe and reverence I speak) I implore forgiveness, if, when under affliction too severe for man to support,

fupport, I have doubted erroneously concerning the systems of men, which represent the great First Cause as a human creature, subject to the worst and weakest of human passions; subject to anger, malice, revenge, ambition, vanity! Let me hope that, if I did not possess sufficient understanding to discover truth, that will not be imputed to me as a fault. Thou surely wilt not condemn me because I am unable to believe thou ever madest a creature that was predoomed to eternal destruction!

Of wicked men I have asked mercy, for having written so much against the evil of their ways. To thee, God of benevolence, I intercede for grace, for that I have not written more. The faculties of man are only divinely employed, when employed in the cause of virtue *.

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^{*} The baron further adds a justification of himfelf, against M. Archenholtz, a German critic, who had taxed him with misrepresentation concerning England. He affirms the affair to have happened as he stated in the second volume, makes many severe re-

CONCLUSION.

I have at this moment occasion to add, now when this volume is completed, that I was received with esteem and honour in my country, superior to all that can be

marks on the English and their laws, and says, that when he went to the custom-house to pay the importation duty on his Hungarian wine, the officer presented him the Gospel to kiss, and swear that it was all for his own drinking; and when he resused taking an oath so ridiculous, the officer called a porter, defired the baron to give him a shilling, and the porter kissed the book in his stead. He adds, this was in compliance with an act, which at that time prohibited the importation of French wines, except for individual consumption; and satirically remarks, that in Rome one man is hired to pray, in London to swear salsely, for another.

The baron also acknowledges himself obliged to the learned geographer Busching, who has corrected his error of dates; promises to profit by the remarks of his critic in a future edition; pleads haste, errors of the press, and a lapse of years; and adds, as an additional historical sact, that Bestuches and his lady were in opposite interests, and both were in the receipt of bribes from different courts. T.

imagined,

imagined, by those who have not themselves been witnesses of this reception. Content and happy I journey back to Austria. The good king has done me justice, and heaped favours on me; I have received my conficated estates, and am in hourly expectation of the rents of which I have been forty years deprived.

More I fought not; posts of honour I cannot there accept. Nobody shall accuse me, in my old age, of being selfish, or living detrimental to that state of which I have now been six and thirty years a subject; although it has most shamefully mal-treated me, and continues still to repay me with ingratitude. I leave behind me a gracious monarch, who knows my heart; I leave the best of reputations, innocence undoubted; and am convinced the Prussians love me, and will be the friends of my children.

The object of my journey is accomplished; I can now, in the decline of life, enjoy honour and ease, and, as a good man should, can meet death with a smile. Application of the property of

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THE

LIFE

01

Baron Frederic Trenck.

CONTAINING THE

MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS.

Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.

Baron Hecderic Trenck.

MOST INTORTANT EVENTS.

Plastere h neques Superos, A checonta movelio,

PREFACE.

White the record of the land, and reserved to the

rediction of the voteria, we best good as

naoll strat en du esterer bas est d'illes

Boldly, and without dread of that danger which ever threatens offensive truths, the former volumes of my history were made public. What would have had the appearance of romance in my life, I passed over; and the unbroken narrative of forty eight years' sufferings would have filled a far greater number of pages, had I been animated by oftentation or literary pride.

To fatisfy the curiofity of every company was an insupportable task. In passing from one to another, contradictions, gaps, and salse embellishments crept into my story. This determined me to write my own history; which has met with such approbation throughout Europe, that translations of it into nine different languages have been transmitted to me.

Affuredly

Affuredly I shall be pitied when I declare, that booksellers and pirates alone have been enriched by it: I have had the honour, they the profit. For this reason I hope they who wish to read this last, and unquestionably most important volume, will be so good as to apply for it either directly to me at Hamburg, to Mr. Schniebes, the printer, at Altona, or to Mr. C. W. Myer, bookseller, at Berlin. Malignant people have falsified the contents of the former volumes, and mutilated my work, in order to render me obnoxious to blame and evil repute.

Hence I request the public to buy the original of this volume at least, to avoid imposition. Such is the nature of its contents, that in many places its publication will not be permitted, and on me it cannot fail to bring persecution. In countries where that is the case, it behoves people to apply directly to me, to receive copies with safety by the means I shall adopt; as booksellers generally set a shameful price on prohibited books. Falsehoods most assuredly will not be found in this volume; but it is written with freedom.

freedom. Why should whole nations never be permitted to know what monarchs or private individuals wish to conceal from them? An honest man should write the biography of deceased potentates without referve, for the instruction of the living. I have depicted the emperor Joseph as he actually was. Whilst under his government Brabant rebelled, Hungary prepared to revolt, and general discontent prevailed throughout almost all the provinces of his dominions: whilft the commencement of the reign of the truly noble-minded Leopold, and his art in fetting bounds to the universal commotion, are certainly inimitable, and must eternise his fame, as he preserved Austria from infallible difmemberment: posterity shall learn the truth from at least one impartial historian, and receive the proper key to events fo important. Such was my purpose when I took up the pen to write this volume.

From these, the present emperor, Francis, the worthy son of Leopold, and pupil of Joseph, I will take example; choosing the good for imitation, and using the bad as a warning.

warning. He knows me well: he knows why I write in justification of myself, and of his truly great father. He is certainly no despot, who would suppress truths, that glimmer even amongst the writing of hired panegyrists, who can never wholly conceal what many men living have beheld, though few have followed all their windings, and traced them to their fources; and still fewer would venture te make them public, or decide on them openly. He is not ignorant of my exertions in Hungary to ferve Leopold; he is conscious how much I contributed to the convention of Reichenbach: he is aware that his father promised me, on the first division of the fiscal estates in the Bannat, some indemnification for part of the valuable Hungarian estates I had lost; but that he could never fulfil this promise, lest he should confirm the Hungarian clergy in their fuspicion, that I had done and written every thing with his private confent and approbation.

To him is well known also the mean revenge that was taken of me, unprotected, in Hungary, in October 1791; and for which

. With they.

I received

I received no fatisfaction, as death bereft me of him from whom I had every thing to expect. His penetration, his noble princely fentiments, his humane mind, will, on reading this book, find a balm for my wounds," and give little credit to them, who, by taking it to pieces, will extract poison, reputing what appears to my difadvantage, and artfully concealing the good, and that concatenation of causes which produced to me effects fo injurious.

Princes like Francis, possessed of the feelings of humanity, and inclined to beneficence, require only to have the means of doing good indicated: probably, therefore, my children' will obtain what I have fought under three monarchs to no purpose; namely, the favour! of a judge who will inquire into my oppresfions, investigate my rights, and make a report like an honest man. If this be done, I have not laboured, I have not suffered in vain. But should my enemies prove victorious, it was my duty, as a father, to justify myfelf to the impartial public; boldly to face every danger that threatens myself alone:

alone; and at length, wearied with cares and honest labours, to seek beyond the confines of the grave a righteous God; leaving to posterity an example how ought to act and write a worthy member of society, who, like me, has waded through the mire of this world, and learnt to know men and monarchs amidst the storms of sate.

With philosophic coolness and indifference I now await the term of my troublous life, steeled against every possible event; and in the last scenes of my tragedy will I sustain, unchanged, that character which I assumed in the first. If I be hissed in Vienna, elsewhere I am clapped. True critics only know the actor's worth: the approbation of merry-andrews, slaves, drudges of the church, court-flatterers, or imbecile reviewers, have I never fought.

Three years ago I concluded the third volume of my history, with my departure from Berlin for Vienna: and little thought I then that a fourth would follow, as the remainder of my wintry days I had destined to domesric peace. But sate has not inserted my name

alone

in the page of rest: it has enrolled me in the number of knights-errant, doomed inceffantly to wander throughout the earth without ever tafting the cup of fortune. When age has now filvered my locks, I am exposed to events in this tumultuous world, in which I could take a willing part, were I in the ardour of youth or the vigour of manhood; and my reason is obliged to exert all its powers to restrain me from resolves to which my reftless activity would gladly impel me, whilft I have a fair opportunity to show the gods of the earth what an honest man grossly injured, what an ill-treated victim of juridical courts, what one whom unfeelingness and persevering barbarity have rendered an avowed enemy to all arbitrary power, is capable of undertaking, is capable of carrying into execution.

This fourth volume, therefore, will bethe most remarkable and instructive of my history, do honour to my moderation, sosten the revengeful, gratify the curious, and demonstrate that I have facrificed my fortune my parental duties, and my dearest inclinations,

rather

people

probity, or expose the honour of my character to suspicion, on occasions where there was a possibility of my being reproached with sickleness or forced uniformity.

The preceding volumes prove beyond contradiction that I have been most shame-fully the victim of a monarch's despotic power. But who would suppose it possible, that, under the reign of a Leopold, an arbitrary sentence of a minister or a judge could be executed upon a man, who had served the state three and forty years like me? Yet this has been done; and I have lately extricated myself with honour, and publicly shamed my enemies.

Did ever defenceless subject obtain alone more glorious victories over the powerful hierarchy, and over the sovereign of three hundred thousand shedders of human blood, than I?

By the grave of Frederic, at Potsdam, I shood crowned with laurels, and the inexorable outocrate lay at my feet in the dust. I have beheld the period when an oppressed people people dared to shake off the yoke with heroic bravery, and make their tyrants tremble: I might have partaken in the glorious deed; but I refrained.

Before the door of my prison in Magdeburg I have feen grafs growing; and the justice of William converted it into a temple, to my honour.

In Paris I beheld the Bastille, the tomb of virtue and freedom, taken and destroyed; and the bloody head of its once omnipotent governor, Delauny, borne about on the point of a spit.

Members of the courts of justice of Vienna have I feen with the befom of the house of correction in their hands, counting their beads to obtain absolution for the villanies they practifed against me. . I as it was

I faw the most unlimited monarch in Europe deferted by all his courtiers, supplicating the national cockade in the town-house of Paris. I faw princes pale with fear, and the favourites of a court, trembling, take flight, whilst firm and true patriots spurned despotic power. I saw the great partisan of unlimited authority,

authority, the emperor Joseph, depart this life as mean as possible, after having difgracefully repealed all the commands he had issued to his Hungarian subjects.

What delight for an inquiring mind, that perceives things as they are, and could affift in spreading the slame it had contributed to illume, which had wonderfully purified the air from the sighs of slavery and the mists of prejudice! Golden times! to your heroes will posterity erect alters of gratitude: and happy do I deem myself in seeing this epoch arrived, and being able, from just data, to predict its successful termination; if they, who have now the felicity of the people in their hands, do but remain honest disinterested men.

Never, as I have already said, did I think this sourth volume possible. Mere accident drew me from my village, and brought me lately on the great theatre of the world, where I sound myself exhibited with applause, and had opportunity to act the most important part that I could wish myself to perform.

A Line

True relations, capable of diffuling light, shall fill this volume. The bats may shriek, but screech-owls will still brood quietly. I have inspected with an eager thirst of knowledge, examined with deliberation, and recited faithfully, without the least fear of giving diffatisfaction; though from personal circumstances I should have difguised or concealed many things that may expose me to fresh persecution. But, habituated to conflicts, I neither retreat nor tremble where danger threatens; and the duties of a citizen require free disclosure. To name those, who by false information occasioned my last misadventure at Buda, which does little honour to the supreme military court for its precipitancy and despotism, was a justice I owed to myfelf. With all moderation, as the grossly injured party, I have written to those gentlemen to acknowledge their hastiness, and at least acquaint the monarch with the truth: but their haughtiness, which would maintain their infallibility, has not allowed them to The reports of vouchsafe me an answer. the public papers had wounded my honour;

whence

whence it was incumbent on me to open the eyes of the world, deceived by false rumours, and appear before it in my true form.

Formerly personal offences were decided by sword and pistol. As a knight I would enter the lists, and expose my grey hairs to the combat, as cheerfully as in the warmth of youth. But since the times are changed, and legislators have thought proper to suppress duelling, I come caparisoned in proofs and arguments to make good my cause before impartial arbiters, and undauntedly await judgment, where every one may venture to speak truth and give a just decision, without respect to rank or title. If these alone decide, I have relinquished the paltry title of major with honour, and Trenck's pen has well desended Trenck.

From rock to rock the chamois bounds,

Nor heeds the chafm that yawns beneath.

The brave thus danger ne'er confounds:

O'er leap'd the gulf, he grasps the wreath.

The dastard, still withheld by fears,

Nought can achieve, nought can obtain,

Inglorious spends his youthful years

Unnotic'd suffers age's pain

THE LIFE OF BARON TRENCK.

sedminist pall by donele.

A san hangu tem founded one before Cod Lege et pondera prudens!

tay Eleher I you are to the firm, from Robe

CONCLUDED the third volume * of my history with my departure from Berlin, in August 1787, after the king had bestowed on me a pension of twelve hundred dollars +.

He, who has read the story of my fate, will not wonder, that I received this as a balfam for my wounds. At that time I faid, that my hereditary effate of great Scharlock, which had been confiscated, was restored to me: but this restoration never took place. I was too hasty in embracing a hope, that had every appearance of certainty; and must now relate the circumstances that frustrated the good. intentions of the king.

In the year 1745, when I escaped from my prison at Glatz, Frederic the Great, incensed against me, had permitted my hereditary estate to be sequestrated: and the governor-

bishing

^{*} Original Edition. + About 2201.

general Fouquet, with unheard-of cruelty, let judgment pass by default.

As an honest man, I can declare before God and the whole world, that, immediately after my flight, I wrote to the king, from Bohemia, and prayed him to examine the justice of my cause. But I received no answer. In the mean time, whilst I was wandering about the Polish dominions, I was proclaimed in the Gazette, if I may believe report, as a deserter; and was actually outlawed, and my property consistency, whilst I was certainly so circumstanced, that no newspaper of Glatz or Berlin could come to my hands.

Consequently the judgment of Fouquet, in the absence of one of the parties, was without dispute salse, illegal, and arbitrary, and can by no means be cited to my prejudice.

Had this judgment been deemed valid by the present monarch, I could never have shown my face in Berlin with honour during his reign, far less could I have been invited to the king's table, frequented the drawing-room with an erect countenance, and publicly have taken an airing with the royal family. These circumstances are sufficient to annul the sentence passed at Glatz: by these therefore am I re-

But as the benevolent monarch referred me to his ministers, to see what could be done in my behalf, one of them discovered, that the restoration of my confiscated property would stigmatise the memory of Frederic the Great with an act of public injustice. He conceived it better, therefore, that the king should graciously bestow on me a pension, and neither annul nor confirm the judgment of the court of Glatz. The latter could not be, whilst the history of my life was published with license even at Berlin; and the former still less, as state prudence forbad it.

What could I do? My leave of absence from Vienna was nearly expired; and my friends advised me thankfully to accept the pension, which vindicated my honour, and to take a future opportunity of returning to Berlin to solicit the cessation of the decree which consisted my possessions, or to be indemnissed for them by the gift of some equally valuable estate.

Still there is another obstacle in the way. Eight years after the confiscation, the king, on the petition of my two brothers and feudal heirs, bestowed on them my estate, to be divided between them. The younger paid the elder the value of his part in ready money. Of these the former has died and lest children; the latter is still childless, and in actual possession of the estate. I have neither right nor desire to take from him what was given him by the sovereign; and the heirs of our deceased brother would not be by any means more ready to consent to it.

For redress then I should apply to those who gave away my estate, in direct violation of the seudal rights established in the country, which were thus anihilated with respect to my guiltless offspring. I am now justified, and my innocence is publicly acknowledged; yet have I suffered ten years imprisonment. Frederic gave me at length my freedom; but he gave me not back my estate. Thus my punishment was double.—Now let me ask—who is to indemnify me? He certainly, who generously received me again in Berlin as an honest but ill-treated man; the politics of whose minister advised him not to annul the decree, that consistent my estate,

out of regard to the honour of Frederic the Great, but to indemnify me in some other way. Has this been done by a pension of twelve hundred dollars?—Certainly not—for he not only has my estate, which lets for five thousand Prussian florins*, never been restored to me, but it is also for ever lost to my children.

It was confiscated in the year 1746. rent, up to the present year, 1792, would amount to two hundred and thirty thousand Prussian storins + principal money, without reckoning interest. Not a farthing of this have I received, and my pension amounts not to the interest of this sum. I am now an old man, and have little prospect of enjoying even this pension long: and when I die I shall not have the confolation to leave to my heirs what my fore-fathers have possessed in Prussia for these centuries, and transmitted to me unimpaired, that I might, in like manner, transmit it to my descendants. Let an impartial world decide, whether I have reason to be quiet and content?

True it is the present king owes me no
* About 375l. † About 17,250l.

thing; by him I was never oppressed. But he acknowledges the injustice done me in the former reign. The exchequer of Frederic took from me my estate; the exchequer of William should restore it to me again. Yet this has not been done. The pension, I own, does me honour: but it setters me in my undertakings, and renders me suspected at Vienna, as no man can serve two masters.

This, and no other, is the true state of the cafe. To the king I am not unthankful. His defire to give me satisfaction was good; and the feelings of his heart were certainly noble. With his own eyes he beheld my fufferings in Magdeburg, and was aware of the fource from which they undeservedly flowed. Should any honest man in Berlin read these lines, let him fay to the king, that there is still opportunity to indemnify me, or my children, by some other seigneurial estate. This would not impoverish his treasury; and all who have read my history, who know my zeal for him, would unite with me in honouring his name. As for the minister who withheld his beneficent hand, I wish that he may find for the Tervice

fervice of his country many men of my stamp, and know better how to reclaim them, and bring them to his lure.

I had now nothing more to do in Berlin. Having an opportunity, however, of acting as a true German patriot, though during the course of three and forty years I had met no reward, or favour, or justice in Vienna, I made an attempt to bring about an alliance between the two courts, for I knew that unlefs a good understanding between them were fecured, no durable peace could be expected, either for those powers, or for the other German states. Prince Reufs, the Imperial ambaffador, wished it from his heart; and the first steps I took were so fortunate, that, by means of some conferences which I brought about between him and the minister count Hertzberg, the preliminaries were drawn up, and actually dispatched to Vienna; but no answer was returned. Prudence alone withholds my pen, otherwise could I here disclose to the world a species of ministerial cabal, at which every honest man must shudder.

Some future day, perhaps, I shall difcover the start is sure in the confirment at the et the

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the truth, when my situation will permit so to announce it, that every patriotic German may read, and know it*. Let it suffice, for the present, that pride, or envy, hurt at the idea that an untitled individual, without credentials, should effect more than ministerial wisdom could accomplish, frustrated the whole of my scheme.

I now hastened to Vienna; had an audience of the emperor; spoke to him as on such occasions I am accustomed to speak; and what was the consequence?—Nothing for the state: nothing for myself. I folded my arms, and remained at court unnoticed. Joseph had then no doubt but that with his three hundred thousand invincible warriors he should find Berlin an easy conquest. I shrugged my shoulders when he told me so. At Berlin caballing against me soon began; for men like me must be banished from the considence of kings. My friends wrote me word of this, and I answered:

Mens sibi bene conscia, famæ mendacia ridet:

[&]quot;The mind conscious of rectitude despises

^{*} Towards the end of this volume the baron again fpeaks of this circumstance a little more at large. T.

lying report." Though ingratitude on all hands be my reward, never shall I repent a noble action. But I shall not attempt the like again: in suture I shall remain indifferent to both courts. This is the sole revenge I shall take of little minds that parade the drawing-room, proud of ribbands and titles; yet must blush with shame when their eyes meet mine.

In Vienna I now enjoyed that triumph which an honest man always obtains over those who can stoop to base actions. I could carry my head erect, whilft the well known history of my life had made many tremble, had filled many with shame, and had convinced the numerous band of petty tyrants of the law that I wanted neither courage nor opportunity to strip off the mask from every enemy to virtue, and hold him up to public fcorn. As skulks the rapacious vulture at fight of the eagle foaring over his head, and shudders, and quits the helpless dove, lest himself should be pounced; so flunk before me my Vienna foes, after two of their respectable colleagues were forced to sweep with bridewell-besom the streets of that city, in which they had long with

with impunity difgraced the honourable feats of justice, steeping in tears the cheeks of innocent men, who durst not call by their proper names villains so high in credit. I alone had ventured it, and had attacked the nest of hornets without fear. I had depicted them openly in my writings, before they had been condemned to public punishment, as a warning to others. Hence they who were confcious to themselves of deserving a similar fate feared lest I should find occasion to make their names equally notorious. But my temper is not revengeful: when their fovereign-judge thinks fit to punish them, and to purge his court of fuch vermin, they will be fufficiently known without my intervention.

In the mean time I have had the fatisfaction of receiving the thanks of two referendaries.

—I asked one mean, shameless wretch, for what he thanked me?—He called me a generous man, whom he had persecuted without knowing, and thanked me for not having mentioned his name in my writings.—The other was baron Walstedten. Is it possible to enjoy greater satisfaction?—May all such,

who become wealthy by being the pandars of their wives, whilst their shoulders profane the sacred robes of justice, be obliged to relinquish the latter to men of honour, and proudly paradetheir golden hinds, with splendid equipages, before the eyes of a just public, knowing and despising them as I do.

Peace at last I now sound; and I was lest free from attacks. In many countries it is well for a man to make himself seared, and to evince, that there still exist persons capable of boldly waging war with little men in great offices. True it is I was styled a restless mortal, and a singular being; yet that restless mortal was every where received with honour; and cheerfully will I submit to be deemed singular by those who estimate a man's worth only by the weight of his purse, or the degree of savour in which he stands at court. Gellert says:

A prince's favour dost thou proudly boast?
Say, is not merit's value on him lost?
Stript of his title, would his praise be fame?
Would it not stamp disgrace upon thy name?

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If I could be a friend to mankind, and act

according to the dictates of justice, in a place at court, to me the disgrace would be, not to want, but to fill it: he who knows and feels his own dignity will be sought after, and need no patron. The mean-spirited candidate for court favour sawns or worries himself into notice, deceiving all who trust him, or who are incapable of reading mankind. The patriot and man of honour remains quiet in his village, and chooses and acts as I have chosen and acted.

I now hastened to Zwerbach, and till November 1788 remained at rest in the bosom of my family. At rest I remained, but not in idleness; for the father of eight children, who educates them himself, and has sons in the army, unable to support the character of officers on their bare pay, wants not employment; especially if he have to fill up old gaps made by agents, attorneys, counsellors, and other gentlemen of the long robe.

In November I undertook a new journey to Berlin, once more to try what could be done in my behalf. Here I perceived in the space of a single year so many changes, so many cabals contesting together, and so many causes militating against my undertaking any thing, that I deserred my design till some more savourable opportunity. His majesty, however, I sound disposed to serve me; and indeed he granted me every thing, that, as affairs were circumstanced, I thought proper to ask. Even esteem was not denied me at court, or by the ministry.

On leaving Berlin I went to Schildberg near Soldin, to my niece von Waldow, took my youngest son, whom I had lest the year before to prosecute his studies with her children, and carried him to Dessau, where I lest him to be educated at the *Philanthropheia*, as it is called.

From Dessau I set off for Dresden. There the prime minister, count Marcolini, showed me a mark of distinction and a civility rare in Saxony, coming to me himself to the inn, conducting me to court, and presenting me to the electoral samily: and I must consess, that in general every possible honour was paid me at Dresden. The market-place, where I dwelt,

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dwelt, was constantly crowded, and wherever I went the people followed me with loud acclamations.

On my journey, I paid my respects to Charles of Saxony, duke of Courland, at El-sterwede. Here also I was graciously received; as I was by the reigning prince of Desfau, whose little territory is one of the happiest in Europe.

Hence I repaired to Königstein, to visit the worthy old general count Solmes. He knew of my coming, and, notwithstanding the rain, came down to the foot of the stupendous rock to meet me. With a hearty embrace, he gave me that look which at first sight eternally rivets two noble minds. Happy day! that permitted me to enjoy the pleasure of obtaining the friendship of one of the noblest of soldiers, of an old man loved and honoured by all. We spent only a single day together: that day, however, was well filled up with conversation. At parting, the tears fell from our eyes, and each of us exclaimed within himself:—Ah! were we not

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fo near the grave !—If it be permitted me to see him once more in this world, I certainly will not fail again to visit Königstein.

This vast rock is not a fortress, that an enemy must subdue before he can conquer Saxony. It contains but a small garrison, incapable of making a sally; and serves only to secure the records of the country and prisoners of state. Königstein is the Bastille of Saxony; in which many a brave man has pined out his life in durance.

When I was there, parts of the rock were blown up to form casemates. In doing this was found a dungeon bored in the solid stone to the depth of sixty sathoms. At the bottom of this dungeon appeared a bedstead, on which a skeleton reposed, and by its side the remains of a dead dog.—Mournful sight for a heart possessed of the seelings of a man. How savage the tyrant that can invent such tortures for his fellow-creatures, and can lie down on his pillow, conscious, that, in a hole like this, a man is slowly consuming the lamp of life, seebly supported by vain hopes of his compassion! Even now the walls of this

prison confine three persons not unworthy of notice.

One of these was private secretary to the court of Saxony, and, in the year 1756, betrayed the secrets of the Dresden archives to the king of Prussia. He was taken in Poland; and has now been sour and thirty years in a dungeon:—he still lives—but his appearance is more that of a wild beast than of a man.

Another is one colonel Action. He who is acquainted with the fecret history of Drefden will remember the horrid poison scheme, which was detected, but was thought proper to be kept secret. Action was the chief in this conspiracy. He was by birth an Italian; possessed a Calabrian heart; was a bold and handsome man; and was the favourite of the dowager electress.—This is a sufficient key to his hiftory for those who are desirous of knowing what is become of Action, who has still many friends in Dresden, and enjoys more liberty than his fellow prifoners. Where he is, however, he must die: but he is a great villain, and cannot accuse his imprisonment of injustice.

The third is a fine young Swede. Six years ago he was arrested at Leipsic, at the private request of the king of Sweden, and brought to Königstein in a mask. When he was taken, he defended himself like a lion, claiming his right to be protected by the laws of nations. This man is excluded from the light of day. No one sees him; no one fpeaks to him. And on pain of death no one must know what his name is, who he is, or that he is there. From what I could learn, he is no criminal; he has had no trial; but some state or love intrigue at the Swedish court has brought on him this fate. Pity him, reader! he has no deliverance to hope but death: for the elector has promifed the king of Sweden, that he shall never more behold the beams of the fun. He is now under thirty years of age, and the worthy governor cannot speak of him without the tear of compassion in his eye: he shrugs his shoulders, looks up to heaven, and fays:---"It is the elector's order, and I must obey. God help him!"

It is not difficult to divine what passed in VOL. III.

my mind at the thought of fuch a victim, when I could only cast a distant look at the grave were the unfortunate being sighs for deliverance. There is then a Bastille even in the humane country of Saxony, the so-vereign of which has a heart possessed of the noblest feelings!

But patience, unhappy Swede! When I lay in the Bastille of Magdeburg, the mighty Frederic the Great faid --- "Whilft my name is Frederic, Trenck shall never see day."-Yet circumstances so fell out, that he himfelf fet me free: after which he lived three and twenty years, and still bore the name of Frederic. Every prison has an entrance: and who can tell but that this Swede may find an exit alfo. When the Bastille was destroyed, a man was liberated, who had daily bedewed its stones with his tears for forty years, for having written in the thoughtlessness of youth a satire on a court strumpet, madame Pompadour*. It is a horrible Place Later I being printers and to a thing,

VOL. III.

^{*} This account, we believe, is not strictly accurate.
We imagine the author refers to Henry Maseres de

thing, that any one may intercede for a criminal condemned by the laws; but for a prifoner of state no one must speak, no one must endeavour to mitigate his doom. Dreadful reslection for every honest citizen, who, when he hears such a story, cannot help thinking—to day it is thy turn; to-morrow perhaps mine, if some ministerial cabal be formed against me, or my gracious sovereign be persuaded to an undue stretch of authority.

Happy the people that know how to oppose an everlasting barrier to the exertion of arbitrary power*! Here I must draw the

la Tude, an account of whose life is published. He was detained five and thirty years in prison on account of a youthful imprudence relative to madame Pompadour; but he was released some time before the taking of the Bastille. T.

* Does not the baron allude to our habeas corpus act? That, however, has been suspended: but can any circumstances justify its suspension? Is not the precedent, particularly if repeated, big with danger to our liberties?—danger, with which the trisling benefit to be expected from its suspension can by no means be put in competition? T.

curtain.—Pity the good-hearted governor, who dares not in the least degree alleviate the sufferings of the wichim committed to his charge.—My blood curdled, when departing I cast an eye back on the grave of a living being; and when I recollected, that I too was in Königstein, I looked forwards with terror, lest the door should be shut on me likewise. With a heavy heart I returned to Dresden; it was full when from a far I looked back upon the rock; yet I rejoiced that I was neither prisoner nor keeper there.

My design was to return immediately to Vienna. I had already heard, however, at Berlin, that I was almost idolised in Paris: that every man in France had read my history: that all the new fashions there were à la Trenck: that almost every night I was exhibited on the Parisian theatre, to crowded houses, as a martyr of arbitrary power: and that a frightful figure of me, as large as life, was publicly shown for money. All this was confirmed to me by a friend at Dresden, who persuaded me to go to France, to gather my laurels. This I soon resolved on, and I hastened

hastened thither. At Frankfort, through which I had many times in my life passed unnoticed, I was now looked on in a very different manner, and was received with triumph, as my sufferings had been selt for since my life had been read.

Feasts and balls were given me. The whole town was in motion; and so much love and esteem were shown me, that I never shall forget the pleasure I enjoyed there, and cannot restain from here offering the kind inhabitants my hearty thanks.

I now repaired to Strafburg, and in every town upon the road I met the same honours.

In Strasburg I saw at once that I was fallen amongst a people endued with sensibility. The concourse to see me was general. I was overwhelmed with civilities. Balls and seasts were given in honour of me.

All the beauties of the town appeared in full lustre: they surrounded me; and every dancer turned me with his partner. In short, no man upon earth was ever better welcomed, more kindly treated, or more courte-pully received, in so populous a town.

Count

Count Flaxland, the governor, invited me to accompany him to the play. The piece announced for performance was Baron Trenck; but the police countermanded it, at my request, to prevent tumult, as the people had already crowded me almost to death.

We entered the French theatre with some of the first ladies of the place. Scarcely had I taken my seat in the box, when the orchestra welcomed me with drums and trumpets, and the pit with clapping and shouting Vive le baron Trenck! Long live baron Trenck! I was now obliged to come forward, and thank the people.

After staying about an hour, we went to the German theatre; where I experienced the same honours.

The evening closed with a ball; and from the mouths of the finest women I was gratified with the most charming impromptus. At supper, songs made in honour of me were sung. I can say with truth, that my fortune was indeed enviable; nor could I repent my ten years imprisonment at Magdeburg, as it in reality led the way to my present enjoy.

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ments. Having remained a week with these noble friends, with a heart oppressed with gratitude, I quitted Strasburg, which I never shall forget, and where I actually fancied myself in the paradise of Mohammed, so many divine beauties smiling on me with melting eyes, and expressing with every look that they wished the renovation of my youth.

Happy the man who shall feel these like me, when age has silvered his locks! Yes, in this splendid city I truly selt that one such a day as I enjoyed there was well worth not only a wish to live, but even to suffer the greatest missortunes, if by them such a reward could be obtained.

Quitting Strafburg with regret, I posted on to Paris. In Nanci a thousand people had expected me for two days; and the receivers of the tolls and the turnpikes had taken much money by way of presents, that they might make my arrival known. I slipped through, however, in the dusk, when nobody expected me. As vanity is not my foible, I can declare, that my present journeys, in which I am generally sought after,

F 4 observed,

observed, and importuned, are not pleasant to me.

In the middle of February I arrived at Paris; where, at different periods of my life, I had already been five times, wholly unnoticed. I was advised not to make my appearance at public places, left I should be furrounded and obstructed from the curiosity of the people. The whole city had feen, pitied, and admired me at Curtius's; who had exhibited me as large as life, in my chains, together with Frederic the Great, at the Palais Royal. Two plays had been written with the title of Baron Trenck, that for three months had been performed almost daily. One of them was particularly calculated to promote a spirit of revolt against unlimited monarchical power, as it tended to excite in the audience first compassion, and thence led them to a defire of vengeance. It was performed too in such a manner, that it could not fail of awakening in the heart those emotions, which, at that critical period, the people were wished to feel.

Thus all Paris was, for the most part, pre-

judiced in my favour; and, by means of my history and of the stage, the name of Trenck was generally known. The wish to be accually convinced that this Trenck was still alive, had ever lived, or was not the mere hero of a romance, was fo prevalent when I personally visited Paris, that no one but an eye-witness can conceive how eagerly every one pressed to discover to me the whole feelings of his heart, as it had been affected by my fate. And this was not the thirst of novelty alone, which is commonly fatiated in three days, for I remained fix months in Paris, and to the moment of my departure I experienced the fame love and efteem as at my arrival feemed carried to excess.

The day after my coming, curiofity led me to visit incognito the Palais Royal, where Mr. Curtius was exhibiting me in wax to the people. I went up him, and said:—Sir, I saw baron Trenck himself a sew years ago, and I perceive this figure no more resembles him than it does the Great Mogul.—He looked at me with a mixture of surprise and contempt; and assured me, on his honour,

that he well knew baron Trenck personally, and that he had modelled the face of his figure from the baron himself at Frankfort.

I faid nothing before the company, but took him aside into another room, and discovered myfelf. - The poor fellow was ashamed and frightened; offered in excuse the artifice of people of his profession to grastify the curiofity of the public; affured me that he had gotten a great deal of money by me; that he had fent a fimilar figure to London with the same view; and prayed me to favour him with half an hour's fitting, that he might copy my real face. This request, however, for sufficient reasons, I did not think fit to grant. The original being now at Patis, the figure would no longer answer the purpose of Mr. Curtius in that city; so it was conveyed to Madrid, there to procure him money afresh.

Scarcely had I been three days in Paris, when all the city knew it; and I received vifits or invitations from all the people of confequence in it. Ladies too came, excited by curiofity, to see me. I had no resource but

to follow the stream, and to spend the whole day till midnight in company. Wherever I dined or supped, all the friends of the family were invited, that they might have a fight of me; and after meals the company crowded round me with the same view. Thus in fix days I was generally known; and for the whole fix months I was actually perfecuted, having engagements on my hands for a month to come. Every dinner was a feast. In most houses the desert was enriched, in honour of me, with allusions to my imprisonment and adventures, with triumphal arches and laurel crowns. The ladies fung airs composed in honour of me, and presented me with laurels. Sometimes the fcene was fo affecting, that the whole company shed tears; I myself wept at the first fensations of joy and gratitude. The conclusion was a general embrace, expressive not of curiosity gratified, but of the emotions of the heart.

Thus flowed my days amidst the tumultusious noise of the great world, and with such marks of honour and friendship, as certainly no foreigner, like me, ever before received.

F 6

teceived

ip France. No martyr to the freaks of fortune ever furvived, and enjoyed greater rewards than I. To obtain the univerfal love and unbounded confidence of a people, and the lafting friendship of a nation always deemed capricious, is a fingular phænomenon in my case, and would render me vain, could I entertain fo ridiculous a passion as vanity. In all companies the chief place was commonly ceded to me. And as in France the ladies stamp a man's current value; as my natural cheerfulness was wonderfully pleasing to those who expected to find in me a fuperannuated morose old fellow, misanthropist foured by misfortune; as I still showed myself a pleafant companion, and was not incapable of rendering myself agreeable to the fair fex, by those bons mots and smart repartees so prevalent in French conversation, my reception was the more favourable and more general.

Count Olivadez, who lived at Paris by the name of count Pilo, was one of the first with whom I dined. This worthy old gentleman came himself to setch me, and carried me in a kind of triumph to his palace, where I was

received

received with drums and trumpets, and with vocal and instrumental music, composed expressly for him and me.

The count was a grandee of Spain, one of the first-men in that kingdom, possessed estates to the amount of three millions a year, and is well known in modern history. He procured from Germany, at great expence, feveral families, whom he fettled comfortably in Spain, with a view to augment the industry and population of that country. Amongst these, however, some were protestants. The count was wealthy, powerful, and a friend to mankind. This was enough for the Inquisition. His house was searched, Voltaire's works were found in his library, he was dragged before the holy tribunal as a delinquent, was condemned and tortured. his property was confiscated, and he lay four years in a wretched prison, treated like the vilest criminal, without the least hope of ever recovering his liberty.

His history, which he related to me truly, deserves to be made known to the world. In it would be found things that must excite

horror

horror and detestation for the order of St. Dominic, and the lamentable state of Spain; but I have not here room for it. I shall only say, that the count sound means to escape out of the execrable talons of the Inquisition. The king himself could not save him; but he luckily sled to Paris with the loss of a property of sixty millions. Fortunately, some years before his disaster, he had placed in the French funds a capital, the interest of which brings him about eighty thousand livres a year: thus he has enough lest, being childless, to live in Paris as a philosopher in a state of quiet and respectability, under the name of count Pilo.

When a man who has felt the lash of misfortune reads the history of another equally unfortunate, there arises in his mind a certain sympathetic desire to know him personally, reciprocally to compare their sate, their evils, their escapes, their grounds of consolation. This Olivadez selt for me: on this account he sought me, and heartily solemnised the day of our meeting; when we both sound reason highly to value each other, and to esteem ourselves as raised somewhat above

the

houser

the common level of mankind. He was the innocent victim of the Holy Inquisition, an infamous tribunal affuming the mask of religion; as I was to the state-inquisition of a monarch, as unmerciful as a father inquisitor. We were both remarkable for having found means of rendering impossibilities possible. We have rifen victorious over our powerful enemies; we are free; and, thank God, we have lost nothing but our possessions. Even now I bless the day that brought me his acquaintance and his friendship; and wish that we both had the happiness of seeing the destruction of the Bastille; and that we could also have learnt at least, if not contributed to, the annihilation of every bloody private tribunal, whether of church or state.

Olivadez was my friend in Paris; to his death I honoured him; and ever shall I be the determined enemy of all those beaded and becowled rascals, who could perfecute such a worthy citizen. He died last year, but not before he had shown me the scars of those wounds which had been insticted on him by implements of torture in the dungeons

of the Inquifition. Gracious God! what is a monk, where his power can rage uncontrolled! How little knows the world, even now, of those unfeeling monsters! and how just is my zeal, when I seize every occasion to unmask them!

I have now to relate another adventure. that does honour to the national character. I dined with the Imperial ambaffador, count Mercy. The company was large. Next me fat a worthy old general, of the corps of engineers, who did not know me, and who converfed with me a confiderable time. After dinner he asked who I was. Scarcely had he been told my name, when he ran to me, and embraced me with enthusiasm: hisheart was full, and, overpowered by his feelings, he funk motionless in my arms. The scene was affecting to every bystander. All present thought we had been friends in youth, who had accidentally met in our old age. I myself was astonished and delighted. The old general came to himself, and wept for joy at having obtained in this world the fight of a man, of whom, from reading his history, he

he had entertained so high an idea. He took me by the hand, and I was obliged to accompany him home, when he retired to bed, and to spend with him the whole of the next day, to satisfy all his inquiries. We are now friends, who mutually esteem each other; and let me here ask my reader, Whether he ever suspected that a Frenchman was capable of such noble feelings for a native of Germany?

I was now strongly importuned to go to the theatre, to see myself represented on the stage. Desirous as I was of this, prudence forbad me. I was aware that I should meet with the same reception here as at Strasburg. In the piece that bore my name the Great Frederic gathered no laurels, and, as I was in general strictly observed, I would not give my enemies an opportunity of charging me with excess of pride, as it might have been imagined that I had gone for the purpose of receiving public applause.

Twice the manager had given out that I should be at the theatre on a certain day. The concourse was so great, that double prices were paid for places in the pit. 1 did

not make my appearance, and this had nearly occasioned a riot. At length, after I had been five months in Paris, I suffered myself to be prevailed on by a large company, and went with them to the play. The clapping was incessant. From every quarter resounded Vive le baron Trenck! "Long live baron "Trenck!" At the end of each act I was obliged to come forward, and thank the people for the reception they gave me. At going out, I and my company were so crowded, that I could scarcely get to my coach; and when it drove off, I was saluted with loud huzzas.

The first two months I durst not venture to be seen in the Palais Royal. At last I went thither, and walked up and down unknown and unnoticed. Some of my acquaintance met me, accosted me, and introduced me to a very sine woman, just arrived from Normandy. Scarcely had my name been mentioned, when the people crowded round me from all sides. I slipt into a house in time, and went out at another door. The lady, however, was almost pressed to death.

It was whispered about, that the handsome lady was my wife: she was surrounded, and actually suffered much before she could reach her carriage.

At length, as I appeared in public every day, I was accustomed to spend many hours that I could spare in the Palais Royal, where the foundations of the whole revolution were then laying. Possessed of the considence of the whole nation, it was easy for me to learn every thing I wished to know. I particularly frequented the club, or the meeting of Dutch and Brabantine patriots. These held their private meetings, debated, and every two months dispatched confidential deputies to Bruffels and Amsterdam; and as they were greatly interested in the revolution then fecretly fermenting at Paris, and spared no money to know exactly what was going on at Versailles, their society afforded me the best opportunity of gratifying my curiofity.

Sometimes I spent a few days at Versailles, where I passed my time very pleasantly in the greatest intimacy with the real court party; though I occasionally preserved the

fociety of some of the most prudent members of the States-general, then assembled there, and was so happy as to enjoy their friendship. Thus had I opportunities of diving to the bottom of every thing that was contriving by either party; and could almost foresee and point out the very day when the event that was preparing in secret would burst out into operation. On this account I would willingly add to the present volume a circumstantial detail of the Parisian and Brabantine revolutions, in separate narratives; but they will probably sollow in a distinct work, in which my readers will see the maked truth placed in a just light, without any partiality.

I was presented at court by the Imperial ambassador, count Mercy. On this occasion I must say something, that will appear laughable to those who are unacquainted with the étiquette of the French court. The king must not speak a word to any foreigner, who is presented to him by an ambassador through his minister. At the same time it is next to an impossibility to obtain a private audience of him. This is probably an old ministerial

ministerial artifice, to prevent the king from hearing what he ought to know. Now Trenck had been a common topic of conversation for some months; and I had been affored that the king, who never in his life read a book, had ordered my history to be read to him, had been moved by it in my favour, and wished personally to see me. When I was presented to him, he stood still for at least two minutes before me, surveyed me with attention from head to foot, smiled graciously upon me, went to the door, returned again, and came up close to me, furveyed me as before, finiled again, gave me a token of his favour by a flight inclination of his head, and then went away, after looking back at me when he came to the door.

Now was I at once furrounded as by a swarm of bees, and all testified their joy on seeing me at court. I was next presented to the queen and royal family, and afterwards dined with all the foreign ministers at count. Montmorin's, whose amiable lady gave me the first place at her side, as a mark of particular distinction. As the Imperial and Prussian

Prussian ministers behaved to me with great familiarity on this occasion, it added not a little to my consequence with those who had read my history, in which I had depicted the behaviour of their respective courts to me in no favourable colours. This to my credit also sealed the truth of my account, and added to the esteem shown my person.

One baron Bock had just published a history of my life, in French, in two small duodecimo volumes, and had sold several thousand copies. This was in reality nothing more than a brief abstract of it. Soon after appeared at Paris what was called a new translation, in three small volumes, which was ascribed to Mr. Tourneur. The publishers of both were very successful; but neither had much resemblance to the original.

These having been eagerly purchased and read, many asked me if the translations were saithful and complete. To this I could not avoid saying no: when I was assailed on all hands to set about a translation myself, and publish an edition in my own name. The prospect was good, and every body assured

me that I could not fail of felling ten thoufand copies in France. Thus I undertook an Herculean task, living as I did, the whole day and half the night spent in the tumult of the great world, It was refolved on, however, and within two months I was ready with three octavo volumes. To ornament this edition, I procured ten copper-plates to be engraven by the best masters; and the expence of the work amounted in the whole to near fixteen thousand livres. A considerable profit no doubt was to be expected; but unfortunately I could not get it ready till three days before the revolution: and now every one was fully occupied in reading the immense number of pamphlets, daily issuing from the press, to excite the people to revolt. Delay abated the ardour of that curiofity which had been raifed on my account; and the great change in the state led men to find more important employments for their time, than that of gratifying it. every thop without of fruction.

Thus had I two thousand copies on my hands, which, at fifteen livres each, would

have brought me ten thousand crowns. In this way Fortune showed me her malice in the metropolis of France; but, compared with those turns which I had been accustomed to receive from her, this was a mere trifle.

On my arrival at Paris, I found there prince Henry of Prussia, who showed me, as he had done at Berlin, that he thought me not unworthy his esteem. Now on a sudden appeared the detestable work of count Mirabeau, under the title of Corréspondence secrete d'un Voyageur Français, in which the Pruffian monarch, prince Henry, and the whole of the Prussian ministry, were abused in the most fcandalous manner. It is true it was publicly burnt by the common hangman, at the command of the parliament; yet, though the author, printer, and publisher, all of whom then refided at Paris, were avowedly known, not the least inquiry after them was made, not a fingle individual was punished, and the book still continued to be fold in every shop without obstruction.

Prince Henry, who was chiefly concerned in it, beheld this proceeding with the contempt it deserved; at the same time he saw clearly, that this fcandalous book pleafed the ministry, and probably appeared in Paris on his account, as he resided in that city, and had won the heart of every honest Frenchman. On this occasion he acted the part of a man of magnanimity, as he really is, and returned unexpectedly to Berlin. He had observed, however, in most companies, since the appearance of Mirabeau's libel, the impression fuch writings made on the different understandings of their various readers. No one had more opportunity for this than myfelf, as every where I was questioned confidential respecting the substance of Mirabeau's work, on the truth of which many appeared firmly to rely. I did what was the duty of an honest man, when virtue is calumniated: many I convinced; others accused me of partiality, and retained their doubts. Thus may the reputation of the worthiest man be injured by a knave, who will never fail to find many ready enough to swallow the slanders he invents.

Even the court of Berlin itself, which I undertook to defend as a volunteer, might, CVOL. III.

instead of the reward I merited, object to

That the calumny of a Mirabeau, whose bad character and malicious heart were well known, could do no injury to those at whom he might discharge its poisoned darts, and therefore required no defence. Every thing advanced by him would be disbelieved; but what his opponent admitted would be considered and true: and Trenck had confirmed many things which the court would willingly perhaps have had pass unnoticed, and said many things which it would have wished not to have been mentioned. Of these my enemies accused me, and blamed my attempt. But they knew not the impression Mirabeau had made on a foreign nation, where the affairs of Berlin were judged only from hearfay; and this alone induced me to publish my answer. and received their doub

As however my pen had already obtained the repute of being faithful to the cause of truth, and incapable of being debased to that of salsehood by the temptation of wealth or court savour; as self never in the least entered

into my thoughts, or biasted my conduct, even where my love of truth had made me enemies, and exposed me to persecution, and would probably do fo still; -- I repented of nothing I had written. Enough for me that my intention was good. I had displayed a villain in his proper colours, and had defended men truly great against scandal. Since we are all but human beings, no honest and ingenuous man will require of me, that, in defending even the best of men and of kings, I should make them angels: I am no hired panegyrift, and the difgrace of a flatterer shall never stain my grey hairs. If the purpose of writing be judged and rewarded according to the intrinsic value of an ever impartial historian, -if I be considered as an independent spectator, possessing philosophy and experience of the world enough to contemplate with indifference the greatest ingratitude - this certainly I had not to expect for a work, the end of which was honourable, and the effect of which, on the mind of every thinking reader, could not be injurious to those whom, notwithstanding their failings,

I find

I find cause to reckon amongst the greatest men of the present day. When, moreover, a great minister, whom, in the book alluded to, I have accused of a little selfishness, after having depicted all his virtues, his deferts towards his country, and his personal great qualities, as they really are, is incenfed against me: I repent not whilft I pity the man who wishes to be admired as faultless on the theatre of the world: and wish him such enthufiaftic flattering panegyrifts, as he himfelf is in all his writings, where he endeavours to make his great Frederic a demi-god, and would willingly throw a veil over all his foibles. So writes not, so acts not Trenck. And though that minister wrote to one of the literati of the French academy, M. Mayeur, requesting, that he would make use of all possible means to discredit my writings in France, and I might on this account accuse him, as my supposed friend, of ministerial duplicity: yet my way of thinking and acting, where the voice of the public justifies and indemnifies me, is above it; and my conduct has shown, that I fear no low revenge from a man, who possesses

possesses mind enough to esteem him that dares speak the truth to the teeth of the most powerful, and recants nothing that he has once published to the world. That man is always great who strives with ardour to approach perfection:—on the contrary, he who fancies he has already reached its summit is little; and ridiculous if he thinks to frighten by his dignity and power to injure men of my stamp, whom his benefits would certainly never induce to stoop to base slattery. He had in fact injured me when he undervalued to the king the intrinsic worth, the design, the necessity, and the effect of my book.

But let my work be estimated by the situation in which I stood. Mirabeau is a dangerous man, that knows how to employ either dagger or poison. At the time when I wrote against him in Paris, when I publicly declared him a villain, he was actually a deputy to the states-general, and had great sway with the people. Courage he possessed not to call me into the sield; but his plot was formed to get me seized by a mob, and tied up to a lantern post. This was easily prac-

ticable

My party, however, was too great, and I appeared daily without fear in the midst of the throng; but well guarded against treachery.

At Versailles, in the midst of the assembly, I passed under his very nose with a haughty and threatening air. Every body expected a quarrel; but the contemptible sellow shunned my presence.

When my work against him was announced, as the revolution was just breaking out, and he was the favourite of the people, he gave my publisher to understand, that his house should be razed, and he should be hanged, if he dared to fell a fingle copy. The honest bookseller was frightened, and declined having any thing to do with it. What did the covetous Mirabeau get by this? He secretly pirated my work, and his edition was fold before my publisher. came forward. Thus my profits were lost, and he reaped the fruits of my labour. I was told, indeed, that he had bribed my bookfeller privately to let him have the theets: these he had reprinted at Leipsic, and

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at the same time procured a German translation to be published in the empire: thus my edition was superseded. By these means he sought to gratify his revenge, and at the same time indulged his ruling passion, avarice, by silching from me what should have been the reward of my labour, my risk, and my vexation.

His artifice did not stop here. In his furtive edition he maliciously inserted many words that perverted the sense of the original, and threw blame on those whom I was defending: thus it was, probably, that the Prussian minister, count Hertzberg, once my great protector, who expected from me no public blame, was incensed and exasperated.

Thus is the world deceived; and thus villains find opportunities of playing underhand tricks on worthy men. The same has been done even with the history of my life, in malicious re-impressions, where, by the infertion or omission of a few words, the sense of whole passages has been twisted to my prejudice, being altered to bare-faced lies, that wounded the reputation I had acquired

Landellh

of a strict lover of truth, and stamped discredit on my writings.

So in the year 1772, a contemptible monk, the arch-presbyter Tevis of Aix-la-Chapelle, played me a trick, which, as it deserves to be noticed, I shall relate.

I was then publishing weekly a periodical work, under the title of "The Friend of Mankind." A translation of "The Last Day," from Young, was inferted in it. I had given the sheets for the approaching Saturday to the printer, and had corrected them myfelf, when I was obliged to go to Duffeldorf. The number was printed off, and issued. On the Sunday, fix preachers condemned and reviled my writings from the pulpit, mentioning me by name; held me out to the people as an outlawed freethinker and arch-heretic; blamed the magistrates that could permit the publication of fuch works in their jurisdiction; and actually stirred up the people against me, as one who publicly denied the immortality of the foul new wel a to acid and to notifelt

Some friends informed me of this affair,
which aftonished me greatly, as the poem was
a literal version of Young, who certainly never
disputed

disputed the soul's immortality. I hastened to Aix, and was shown the sheets that had been given out. Here at once I sound the knavery in the alteration of a single syllable.

The fecond book, which describes the refurrection of the dead, begins with the lines:

- " Now man awakes, and from his filent bed.
- "Where he has slept for ages, lifts his head;
- " Shakes off the flumber of ten thousand years,
- "And on the borders of new worlds appears,
- " New fouled *."

Instead of new fouled the printer had put unfouled. Now any man of common under-

We are here obliged to take a small liberty with Young, in order to render the passage intelligible to the English reader. The words new fouled are not in the original; they are a literal translation of the baron's new beseelt, on which the whole accusation turned; by substituting in their stead unbescelt, unfouled. The lines were rendered in German:

Dun wacht der Menfch, und hebt aus feinem fillen bette,

Wo er jahrhundert fehlief, seinklappernd Haupt em-

Er schuettelts, als ob er nicht ausgeschlafen hatte, Und teritt in neuer Welt auch neubestelt hervor. T. flanding, who took a view of the context, must immediately perceive that this expression contradicted the sense of the whole, and could not belong to it.

Taking witnesses with me, I hastened at once to the printer, and demanded the manufcript. In this stood very properly new souled.

The old man was honest, and much surprised at so gross an error of the press: but his son, the compositor, was a rascal. I sell on him immediately in a sury, and he endeavoured to exculpate himself by terming it an oversight: his uneasiness however I sufficiently remarked.

At this very instant came in a friend of mine who was a subscriber, and always called for his copy himself. He showed us the words new souled printed rightly. I then attacked the son seriously, and brought him to confess, that the arch-presbyter Tevis had come to him, and induced him, by a present of sour guineas, and the assurance of his protection, to cancel the sheets that were more than half printed off, and insert the word unsouled. This was done by working at night without the father's knowledge, and only about twenty of the former were issued, which were taken by subscribers

who

who had come for them the day before I have thought proper here to remnoispilduq

Can Satan himself play more maligious tricks than an abandoned prieft, to injure an honest man? The affair was now notorious throughout Aix; but the people had once been stirred up, and with them priests are always fure to be in the right, nothing as an

From this true and well-known flory may be clearly perceived how a wicked man may blast an author's character, by falsifying a single word. This has particularly happened to me, in those editions of my history printed in the imperial territories. The treacherous Mirabeau did me the same ill turn in Paris: my answer to his book was not quite finished when I lest that city; and when I came to read it over, I found in it whole passages that could not possibly have been in my manuscript, as they never entered into my imagination; much less could they have flowed from my pen. Printers, compositors, and editors have been bribed to attain certain purposes; and this has actually happened to me. It is even possible that the person employed by me to correct

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I have thought proper here to remark, and at the same time to request my reader, if he meets with suspicious passages, not to forget what I now premise for my justification. Mirabeau is a man capable of any meanness, if by it he can gratify his avarice, his pride as an author, or his lust of revenge. He was too much of a poltroon to attack me with his sword, when he saw me personally. With his pen he could not defend himself, for mine had exposed and defeated him. His only weapons, therefore, were the last resources of a detected villain. On the other hand, truth and the public voice were for me.

An acute judge of mankind, Mirabeau's envy was particularly excited by the prefumption that my work would procure me
favour, and be of advantage to me at Berlin; and by falfification of a word or a line
occasionally, in his pirated edition that appeared in Berlin much earlier than my own,
and perhaps by the corruption of my publisher, he frustrated all my hopes of advantage, and turned them to my prejudice.

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They who are acquainted with literary labours, may eafily judge of the pains it cost me to write in a foreign language, and afterwards copy, with my own hand, four large volumes, within the space of five months, whilst, conformably to the manners of Paris, I was obliged to spend the whole day till midnight in the bustle of a numerous society. This I did, and at the same time obtained the applause of the nation in a far higher degree than any German, who had ventured, as an author, to enter the lists of French literature. The voices of the academicians, the learned, and all the French reviews, were unanimously for me: this was honour enough.

Now to resume the thread of my narrative. To avoid repetition, I shall pass over all the circumstances of which I availed myself to promote my purposes, or gratify my curiosity, as every thing relative to the revolution appertains to my history of it, and is there related. I say nothing more of the many testimonies of friendship I received from a whole nation, for which I had done nothing. Suffice it, I was invited to spend my last days

in France. I was offered the post of campmarshal, with a pension of eight thousand livres *; and I might here have well provided for all my children. Such an offer was never made me in a country for which I have fuffered every possible affliction, and lived and laboured two and forty years. But my fentiments and circumstances allowed me not to accept offers fo highly advantageous. I was fatisfied to leave with general efteem a nation, in which the heirs of my name will find all hearts prejudiced in their favour; and to bear away the reputation of having facrificed all private interest to the defire of acting as a man of honour, who lives only to shame those that will not know him in his true character. I was fatisfied that men faw what Trenck could do and effect, when he thought fit to apply himself to any important enterprife. For men that know how to gain and preserve the love of the people in a foreign country are certainly not to be offended with impunity, if they be capable of

whole nation, for which I had done actions.

avenging themselves, and opportunity be

That nothing was to be feared from me, however, I have shown in the French, Brabantine, and Hungarian revolutions. The now humbled court-party regret that they listened not to my advice, given with sincerity, and after duly considering circumstances: whilst their victorious opponents embrace me with brotherly love; though to obtain it I never treacherously betrayed the confidence with which I was treated by the friends of the ancient government. This event, during which I was accidentally at Paris, will ever remain a principal epoch in the history of my life. Virulently as this history has been attacked by greedy printers and obfcure hired-writers, their pamphlets have produced little benefit to the publishers. A man of honour writes his name in his titlepage, and anonymous scribblers vanish like moths that shun the light of day. I have published my defence, and all my nameless accusers are at once and for ever answered: if any one believes himself personally offended.

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he knows where I am to be found; and I do not fuffer myself to be long inquired after.

Count Gravenitz, late aulic counsellor, alone has fought to vindicate his honour, which he conceived to be injured, by my naming him amongst the Zettos and Kruegels. The good man, however, has forgotten what I faid to him in his chamber, when he was at the head of the aulic council. He then expressed his forrow and repentance for his decision, for which he had been paid by my opponent; and I generously forgave him as a poor finner demanding pardon. But when in his feeble defence he denies that he was in due form cashiered, he is a liar; for all Vienna, and in particular the imperial agent Schroeder, have proved, that, in the cause of one Palma, he suffered himself to be corrupted. The same thing had happened before, on more occasions than one, but had been looked over, as one hand washes the other: this time, however, he was fuspended. The only thing that enabled him to hold up his head for a few years under the

the reign of Therefa, was his felling Luther, and going over to the only true faith. She dying too foon for him, his apostate fanaticism was at an end. He then went to Hungary, and attempted to take in count Theodore Bathiany by various projects; but his scheme failed, his defign was discovered, and the count clapped the aulic counfellor into prifon. After remaining some time in durance, he was fet at liberty, and returned to Vienna. There he speedily received from the emperor the consilium abeundi: in plain English, it was recommended to him to quit the city as fast as possible, as the monarch wished not to stamp disgrace on the court of justice, by inflicting public punishment on one of its judges. He had just entered into a contract to spirit away a number of German subjects, to form a colony in Spain; and for this crime the worthy aulic counsellor, and dealer in human flesh, was deposed from the feat of justice, and expelled the country.

That this was his real fate, I here pledge my honour; and his rashness, in endeavouring to justify himself, compels me to make it known. As to what he fays of my history in other respects, it is perfectly indifferent to me whether he believes it or not: the approbation of a Gravenitz would not less disgrace me, than his testimony justify. He who, feated on the bench of justice, could suffer himself to be corrupted by a bribe, -he who, for love of gain, could fell his countrymen * into flavery, is no longer to be numbered amongst honest men, and deserves not that I should contaminate my pen with his name. If there be any one in whom his superficial defence has excited favourable fentiments, let him write to any agent of the aulic council, and inquire the reason why Gravenitz was dismissed: his general character will then proclaim what he is. His want of integrity cost me eighteen thousand florins +, of which he robbed my children for a bribe of a hundred ducats. Much good may it do him !-The money I have already forgotten; and I require it not from his colleagues. I only

And is not every human being the country man of a philosopher?—the country man of a Christian? T.

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wish to meet Mr. von Gravenitz in the course of my travels, and that he may demand a demonstration à posteriori of what I have written;—he shall then meet with his desert.

Having now feen every thing I wished in Paris, and my domestic affairs calling me home, I went to the bôtel de ville to M. de la Fayette, and Mr. Bailly, the mayor, the only persons who had then power to grant passports; as in the general ferment the privileges of foreign ambassadors were neither regarded nor allowed. The paffport of the imperial minister, in particular, could not avail me, as he had fled from Paris himself for his own fecurity. Both the leaders of the armed citizens were my friends, and both urgently intreated me to defer my journey, as no one could answer for my not being troubled and detained fifty times on the road by the armed citizens and peafants; as at this period the ariftocrats and the chiefs of the vanquished party were endeavouring fecretly to escape out of the kingdom. I contidued firm in my request, however; and they

they went into the office to dispatch me. They soon brought me out my passport with great politeness; and Fayette said, he earnestly requested me that I would go without any weapon, as no traveller yet, without exception, durst carry any arms. Looking at him sternly, and with a countenance decidedly expressive of a sense of insult, I answered:

General, I am an officer in the service of a foreign power, and whoever demands the fword of Trenck shall die by its point.-Do not be in a passion, my dear friend, replied he. But what if a thousand come in a body, and demand it?-Then the first that comes within my reach dies; and fo shall all that cannot overpower me. They looked at me with amazement; took back my passport; left me for a few minutes; and then brought me another, in which arms were not prohibited me. As a particular mark of esteem, the number of my servants, or fellow-travellers, too, was left undetermined; fo that I could easily have affisted any of the court party to escape out of the country.-

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But this I did not, as I would in no-wife offend those who had loaded me with friendship. I now took my leave: every one embraced me heartily, but all doubted my arriving quietly at the frontiers, where every species of licentiousness was tolerated, and the armed peasants swarmed on every side.

Six weeks before I had demanded a paffport, and had taken leave of the whole city, to depart on the 10th of June. But this was merely an artifice. I knew before-hand nearly the time when the revolution would break out: fo, that I might not be under a necessity of embracing one party or the other, I left Paris, and returned privately, remaining incognito at the house of Mr. Boehmer, jeweller to the court; the person who fold the celebrated necklace to the cardinal Rohan. From this circumstance had I an opportunity of discovering the true history of that adventure, in which madame la Motte acted the principal part, and of which I shall publish a particular account.

In this house I beheld in private every step of the revolution, without risk of being forced forced to avow my party. But when the decifive blow was struck, I appeared publicly amongst the people, and was received, as before, with open arms. Many of the unfortunate, too, had I opportunities of serving.

With the more fatisfaction did I depart for having witneffed this grand fcene, in which the despotic king of the French found, by experience, that a nation without a king is still a nation; but that a king without a people is indeed an infignificant being. Yet of an offended people, urged to actual infurrection, he only who then beheld revenge, rage, or despair, depicted on every countenance throughout the vast and polished city of Paris, can form an adequate judgment.-And, O my God! how little, how dejected, how heartless, how disquieted appeared then the favourites of a court, the proud insensible nobles, the heroes of the parade and antichamber, the jack-puddings and favourmongers of the palace, whilst they fought compassion, pity, and protection from the least of the people, roaming about with halters in their hands, ready to tie up to the first lanternlantern-post every minister and every blood-sucker of the nation. Surely such events must serve as warnings to those who endeavour to lead hood-winked kings by the nose, and for their private ends would persuade them that the wealth of the public is their property, that they are above all laws, and that they may sport uncontrolled with the natural rights of man.

From my foul I pray that this event may, by being properly employed, give happiness to all France.

That nation, prone to noble fentiments, deferves not to be whipped and scourged to the duties of a subject. And with this wish left I Paris, regretting the necessity of my departure, as I would gladly have lived and died within its walls.

At the barrier I was stopped by a number of armed citizens, and my passport was demanded. But, on observing my sace, one of them exclaimed: This is our friend Trenck: go on in God's name, and take our best wishes with you; you need no passport in France!

Thus was it with me throughout the country. Wherever I mentioned my name, no passport was required; and even in the villages the armed peasants recognised me.

—I passed through Metz when the people were raging in full fury, and burning the barriers. My equipage was German, and suspicious; while every passenger was strictly observed. But as soon as they saw my passport, with my name, they let me go on securely through the collected crowd.

About a mile from Verdun I fell in with a regiment of hustars, commanded by colonel count Pestalozzi, on their return from the plain of Sablons. The officers knew me, and made room for me in the midst of them. I was proceeding with the regiment, when I was met by a coach full of ladies. These, when they arrived in Paris, related, that they had fallen in with me on the road as a prifoner, attended by a party of hustars. The account was not improbable, and greatly alarmed my friends. In Verdun I was surrounded by all the officers. The bishop heard of my arrival, and invited me to din-

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ner. This invitation I thought proper to decline, as I was travelling in hafte: but no excuse was admitted; I was forced to make my appearance, and found the worthiest prelate that I had ever met with in my life. The company was large: I was treated as if I belonged to the nation: and this day was certainly one of the pleasantest I ever spent. Marshal Broglio had fled hither, and remained incognito in the episcopal palace with his old friend. But the people got intelligence of it, fent a deputation to their beloved paftor, to inform him, that his castle should be pulled down, if he afforded protection to the traitor Broglio. By the affiftance of one of my friends, however, he was fafely conducted away, and fled to Luxembourg; though probably he knew not to whom he was indebted for this important fervice. Overwhelmed with testimonies of friendship, I proceeded to Deux Ponts, where I had promised the duke a visit. There I staid four days, and received every possible honour. er mily atherer made at the

I was now on German ground, and had laid aside my French national cockade. The only vol. 111.

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disadvantage I received from the revolution was, that through my friends I had obtained the assurance of having my two eldest daughters handsomely provided for in some convent; but with the downfall of the court party this prospect was rendered fruitless.

Another circumftance I must here remark, that shows the malice of my fate. A lady of Normandy, who had an only daughter fifteen years old, and posses d a paternal estate of eighty thousand livres * a year, was fo much taken with me, that the offered me this daughter for my eldeft fon, and gave me her word for the performance. I wrote to him at Vienna, defiring him to quit that city, and come to me as quickly as possible. He returned me for answer-That it was impossible for him to resolve on any such step, as he was fatisfied with his situation in Austria, was beloved in his regiment, and would remain a zealous and faithful fervant of the emperor.

I then made the proposal to my second

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fon, who was in the Prussian service. He told me—That all his aim was to be a good Prussian officer; and that this was so much to his inclination, he wished no other fortune.

Thus happens it to the best of fathers.-He fighs, when his children, with blood boiling high, imagine happiness resides in the livery of a foldier, and fees them with grief let slip opportunities never again to be expected. Thus unfortunate was I in France, where the hopes of promoting the welfare of my children were fo frustrated. Yet if all my daughters had been with me, I am certain they would have been provided for, as, from the enthusiasm I inspired, few Frenchmen would not have thought themselves honoured in becoming my step-fons. Besides they were not deficient in beauty, figure, or personal qualifications for making a hufband happy: and their minds were formed by myself. Unluckily they were not with me: and the golden opportunity is gone by. to would delicit or portunities to be

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I had in France another important advantage for the establishment of my children. In Russia my mother had taken for her second husband a count Lostange. Now, as the very respectable family of Lostange is allied to the first houses in France, with those of Rochefoucault and Rocheaimont, all which called me dear uncle, and dear coufin, an honour feldom obtained by a German, nothing would have been easier than, by their means, to have obtained husbands for my daughters, who have nothing in Austria, where I have no relations, and were stupid national pride requires letters-patent, that money without a shadow of merit can readily purchase at Vienna. Hence the duty of a father is a heavy burden to my grey hairs; for I cannot fit quiet in my village, when my children are grown up, and are to be introduced into the world. Against my will I must accompany them, and relinquish now my strong inclination for the tranquil simplicity of rural life. On this account principally do I travel through the world, feeking opportunities to be of advantage to them.

On my return to Vienna, at the end of August, every one's curiosity was on the stretch to hear my account of the French revolution. But I avoided all company: and, as the emperor lay very ill, he learnt from me, through the grand equerry, prince Deitrichstein, what he wished to know, and what probably without me he could not have known. To that gentleman alone I entrusted all my secrets, without reserve. I respect him, as I know his character; and, as he saw the emperor daily, and is accustomed to speak from his heart, I am assured that he did not disguise the truth.

I availed myself of this opportunity chiefly to inform him of the Brabantine revolution, as in Paris I had been enabled to investigate the whole transaction. I demonstrated to him, that Brabant was lost without resource. To this the emperor paid no attention, thinking the whole affair a trifle of no importance. When I saw this, I retired to my country seat, and sent him an account of every thing in writing.—I disclosed to him the only expedient, and employed on this occasion the

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following strong expression:—If your majesty does not not lose Brabant within three months, I will forfeit my head from my shoulders.

But, alas! no answer followed .- Upon his death bed he was asked whether he had received and read my paper. His answer was: yes: Trenck was in the right, but I could not believe it, and it is too late. - I remain, in the strictest fense of the word, an honest man-and what is my reward? Nothing. It is true the monarch would willingly have known from me every particular, for the purpose of satisfying his vengeance: but I was not his fpy; and Trenck will never, to ingratiate himfelf with a crowned head, betray friends who deem him worthy of their confidence: knaves only, incited by avarice, are capable of fuch actions. In Brabant I had many friends: baron von der Hagen, governor of Bruffels after the revolution, was my wife's nephew; and I am well affured, that the true Brabantine patriots, who are not the tools of priefts, approve my conduct with respect to the revolution, and will remain the friends of my children.

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Now am I a citizen of the world, leaving behind me friends in every nation; and in that description I may certainly include the honest people of Hungary. Three years ago I was in Pest, where discontent and murmuring reigned, not without cause; and the national pride of the Hungarians was urged almost to desperation.

Let my friends, who then opened their hearts to me without referve, who laid before me all their secrets, restect on the advice I gave them. Was I not a true prophet, when I said, Children! forbear—the time is not yet come---resistance will be your ruin. Be patient, and wait a savourable opportunity. Within twice twelvemonths all the attempts of your enemies must and will come to nought, and Joseph will retract every thing that he now so rashly ordains?

This satisfaction, too, have I lived to receive, that he sulfilled my prophecy just in time on his death bed. What has been established in France with so much bloodshed, Hungary has obtained without sacrificing the life of a single citizen. Avail yourselves of

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the opportunity, and take heed, that no ecclesiastical setters be forged to replace the civil ones shaken off.

Principiis obfia, sero medicina paratur.
"Prevention is better than remedy."

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If opportunity offer, think on the unjust possessors of the estates of Trenck in Sclavonia, which I lost in the most shameful manner, contrary to all the fundamental laws of Hungary, whilst the president of your exchequer, with despotic power, rendered many families poor to enrich himfelf and his friends; and receive my children and heirs as lawful denizens of the kingdom of Hungary, whose father, notwithstanding all the injustice he has experienced, will still carry an honest Hungarian heart to his grave, that would have bled freely for your liberties, but now rejoices over the revival of your happiness. Think, too, on the merits of that Trenck, late commander of the pandours, who did honour to his country. And preserve in your archives and libraries my writings, particularly my true account of the French revolutions the Priest Unmasked, the Balance between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers, and the Macedonian Hero.

A revolution in Austria, too, I lived to fee, I was in Vienna when Joseph, struggling with death, beheld all his purposes frustrated, and had time to retract the greater part of them, before the flame burst out. He died; yet for me he had done nothing; he had made me no reparation. Therefa, at the end of her days, was probably inclined to do much for me: fo affuredly was the emperor. But, alas! they both breathed their last in the arms of monks; and where monks find admission, I and my rights have nothing to hope. Important, however, were these two years. that passed since I concluded the third volume of my history at Berlin. They were in fact two years of triumph, in which I received in foreign lands those laurels that I had deserved in Austria, yet there alone did not find. new reign perhaps may bring new days, in which I may gather the fruit of my toils. Thus at least I thought at the time; but the event proved otherwise. Now, therefore, I shall H 5

shall not stand self-condemned, if I resolve to seek a haven where my pen can, with freedom, disclose what it has hitherto concealed, and vindicate the honours of my memory when I am no more.

The reform-decree of the emperor Jofeph had forcibly wrested from every landholder in Austria a third part of his property, and the despotic proceeding of the officers of the directorial courts difgusted me with rural economics, in a country where no agricultural improvements could be expected from bailiffs, who, from hufbandmen, were obliged to become lawyers; as on this head, not the former, they were examined at the diets. Such people, however, are not to be had but with double expence, without the least advantage in regard to the principal object. A more melancholy fituation cannot well be conceived for a landed man in this country, who fees all his expectations fruftrated; and from the new regulations his peafants will work no more, fince they cannot be compelled to work. At the fame time, the great number of recruits raised for the

the army deprives the country of its useful hands, so that agriculture must be neglected; the scarcity of workmen doubles expences; and the taxes are rapidly augmenting. Thus with grief I beheld the remains of my possessions, snatched with difficulty from the gripe of covetousness, daily diminishing: and, as property has here no security, I must now, grown grey with age, leave a country where I could not labour with satisfaction, sacrifice my quiet to the duty of a father, and seek another port, which I had descried long ago, when my aims were more humble.

Forty-three years have I laboured and suffered in the Austrian dominions, neglecting or resusing every opportunity of obtaining wealth or honours, that my memory might never be branded with the reproach of mutability: and I am rewarded with ingratitude. Long ago, indeed, I ought to have been sensible that I was acting unwisely when I let slip an occasion, on which I might have left with honour a country, where priestly vengeance found its sull range to keep men of my stamp out of the field of action.

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action. But those years are fled, and repentance comes too late. Suffice it that I have acted my part with repute and general approbation; and if it be not applauded at Vienna, Rome, or Madrid, in every other country of Europe my reception has been enviable. My love of liberty, indeed, and the freedom of my pen, are not calculated to please every one; yet they have injured myself alone, and I repent them not.

God grant that my hitherto stormy and unquiet course may at length peaceably come to an end. Lived I for myself alone, I had long ago been at rest, and would have little regarded the third confiscation of my property; but the duty of a parent has hitherto deterred me from this refolution, though the face furrowed with age ought to do nothing that can render it ridiculous. We are now at a critical period. Within these two years I have witnessed events, which I ardently defired twenty years ago, when I was fufficiently young, when I enjoyed fufficient strength to have taken an active part in them. perhaps, I can be useful in this scene as a spectator, spectator, though feeble, or drop my curtain with applause, or quit with approbation the theatre of politics. Certainly it is more becoming for one of my years to look on, and applaud others, than to be hissed off the stage. My history will be read when I shall be no more. Whether its veracity be disputed or not, a hundred years hence, when every eye-witness of it is dead, is a matter of indifference to me, since I have had the satisfaction to obtain and enjoy, in the highest possible degree, the considence and approbation of my contemporaries.

I have now to relate an occurrence, that confirms the unwearied perfecution of my fate. I had received fome money in Paris for my writings; and as no one durft take more than five and twenty guineas in ready money with him, whilft all the ariftocrats were endeavouring to escape out of the country, and the people were every where up in arms, I gave my cash to the banker Pinet, my intimate friend, and took from him a bill on Vienna.

On our parting he wept bitterly, fqueezed

my hand, and said,—"We shall never see each other again, my friend."—I affured him that I should soon return again, as it was my intention to spend the remainder of my days in France. With a forrowful countenance he repeated,—"I shall never see you again."

My purpose was to go straight to Vienna, there first to pay all my debts, to set my affairs in order, and then to proceed to Zwerbach to my estate; no more to mix in the affairs of the world, but to suffer my lamp to go out gently in the midst of my family.

When I arrived at the post-house at Kemmelbach, which was but two hours journey from Zwerbach, I there found my wise and two eldest daughters, who were come to an auction. What an unfortunate meeting for me!—I could not possibly avoid going home with them. A secret inclination to go on to Vienna rendered me uneasy; yet I staid with them five days.

On my arrival at Vienna I presented the bill of exchange for eight hundred and fixty pounds. With what astonishment was I struck, when the person to whom I presented

"we received news that Pinet has failed for fifty millions of livres, and has shot himself through the head!"

Accustomed to the strokes of misfortune, and enhardened against them, I wonder at my own calmness, that I could ftill patiently await what might be yet to come, without exclaiming against Providence, who had fent my wife to Kemmelbach just at the moment, to divert me from my purpose of proceeding with speed to Vienna. It is true that I was disquieted in my mind the whole five days I spent at Zwerbach, without knowing why. Perhaps my good genius was preffed by Pinet's restless spirit to give me warning: but ethereal beings possess not the organs of speech, I was unable to divine its meaning. A presentiment of approaching misfortune is a vision, the operation of which on my mind I never could explain. Three days earlier I should have received my money at Vienna: but these slipped by, I lost all, and must form new plans, engage in new undertakings to fupply my necessities. Surely a vessel of wrath

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wrath have I been appointed from all eternity to unceasing labour and agitation. Rich and happy shall I never be on this earth.

The preceding uncommon incident I have related, merely to show that good fortune does not always depend on ourselves*; and that the history of my life is a school for those who seel no reason to reproach themselves with having been the causes that they are strangers to ease and quiet.

It is only incomprehensible to me how Pinet, who had a sincere regard for me, and gave me, when in Paris, great and convincing proofs of his friendship and confidence, should take my money, when he knew himself about to fail for fifty millions, and shot himfelf the sixth day after my departure. To me his conduct is inexplicable. Still I must

^{*} Perhaps it shows the very reverse, and teaches us that we make our fortune good or bad. Had not Trenck suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose, for the sake of gratifying the inclination of the moment, his money would not have been lost. It is a grand lesson, that every thing is to be attained by perfeverance, and the steady pursuit of our object. T.

find new expedients to provide for my family, and keep myself at sea, far from the desired port.

The emperor Joseph was not a man for me: I never sought his favour; I wished not to serve him even in the most honourable posts. His biographers durst not write the truth; and my pen might be suspected of partiality, were I to make it known. It was enough for me, that he was an undoubted enemy to literature, held all men of letters in contempt, and had made a vow never to read a printed book as long as he lived.

A despot certainly he was in the highest possible degree: consequently my Macedonian Hero, and my free style of writing, pleased him not. He permitted the liberty of the press only because he saw his people sunk too deep in the mire of the grossest ignorance to sear the spread of enlightened sentiments.

Had his education been different, he might have been a greater potentate, but he never would have been a great man. Profoundness was in no respect one of his qualities:

thus superficially he appeared to possess knowledge, but he never had capacity for going to the bottom of any thing. Vanity was his foible; his temper was cruel and implacable; his countenance, expressive of scorn, indicated a master who fancied every one his inferior. He wished to be thought just, without being fo. Of his passions he had not the command; and neither nature nor art had formed him for the part of a hero, at which he aimed. Naturally suspicious, he could not but be severe and unfeeling to a nation actually funk to the lowest degree of baseness and depravity. Honour, patriotism, social duty, magnanimity, virtue, honesty, are not known even by name in Vienna. Neither at home nor at school, neither from their parents nor masters, do youth learn or hear any principles capable of forming worthy men or good citizens. In every convent, in every place of pilgrimage, in every church, indulgences are to be had in abundance id summon relief to meed event

He who is guilty of a crime, even the very judge who suffers himself to be corrupted,

rupted, and passes an iniquitous sentence, has nothing to do but dispatch a poor fellow with a film of money to the shrine of St. Mary, to pray for him, and bring him back a full pardon. Good deeds are fet off against bad: the latter are indorfed to some other, like bills of exchange; masses are paid for with stolen money; and he who has lived fifty years a villain, receives on his death-bed abfolution from a priest in the twinkling of an eye. These are truly the religious principles of Austria. Contractors, officers of the treafury, commissaries, agents, and almost all who have opportunities of enriching themfelves with the public money, plunder without blushing, without fear of punishment. The goodness and excessive indulgence of Therefa encouraged those who were openly known for robbers of the public. Joseph endeavoured to put an end to fuch practices by displaying the rod; but his attempt was a jest, where almost all are knaves by rule. The chain in all the courts of justice is too well linked: and where a monarch, who wants acute discernment of character, must choose

choose from the many; where one protects another; where knaves have the law in their hands; where an honest man, if such an one should by chance be found, is condemned as a visionary by presidents, expelled from the council as a restless disturber, and forced to languish in inaction; new laws, with long and patient perseverance, are requisite to form a new national character.

Thus Joseph was incapable of effecting any grand reform; for in a country so deeply funk in depravity, injunctions, fcourges, and executioners are of no avail. The whole national character must be changed and new moulded. All ecclefiaftics should be excluded from fystems of education; for they teach according to the precepts of the Romish church, which cherish vice and ignorance; as the wife have little reliance on priefts, and the virtuous have no need of absolution. Good teachers are at present wanting in the Austrian dominions; confequently it is impracticable to form good feminaries. For this at least two generations are requisite; and few monarchs enjoy the long life of a chapte Frederic.

Frederic, to fee them spring up, grow, and blossom, to produce men qualified to fill with advantage every department of the political system. To the conduct of such an enterprise Joseph was altogether unfitted. He was for accomplishing every thing by force. He fifted nothing thoroughly; he knew not the true source of the evil; and made laws and ordinances before he had removed the obstacles to their execution, or could ascertain the practicability of his defigns. What was the confequence? An immenfe number of explanations, as his decrees were obscure and equivocal; little steadiness in enforcing them; and, at length, indifference to the non-observance of them. or perhaps their repeal, followed by new ordinances, that experienced the fame fate as the former a mire wind , mixelmen to long

Never was the most stupid prince more contemned, less valued, less beloved, or less obeyed, than Joseph. Wise we must certainly allow him to have been in his way: but he was soon wearied of his undertakings, deterred, chagrined, and distatisfied; whilst his ministers and counsellors sollowed the old

route, and no person of abilities affisted him, as the was resolved to know and conduct every thing by himself. So circumstanced, he was actually an enemy to mankind, and, had he lived longer, he would gradually have become the most unfeeling of tyrants.

His daily intercourse was with people who knew still less than himself. Of the sciences that belong to the art of government, he had never made himself master. Occasionally he endeavoured to emancipate himself from gross prejudices: but they soon subdued his uncultivated mind; and they whom he chose for his advifers speedily gained an ascendency over his confused ideas, availed themselves of his weakness, and, being enemies to mankind, or ambitious of power, steered-him by their own compass, and left him in the whirlpool of perplexity, striving in vain to reach the shore. The more resistance he found, the more he feeled his heart against noble and exalted fentiments. His chosen affistants must be despots, tyrants, men devoid of feeling. These flattered his natural propension to obduracy, fortified his heart against every foft emotion, alone capable of rendering princes

princes happy by inclining them to do good, and tyrannifed over the people in his name. His pride would not admit of contradiction. Flatterers and deceivers pressed round the throne, and obscured the truth. As all these termed his obstinacy firmness, and exalted his arbitrariness to the skies, as the sole mean by which he would become the greatest of all princes, and obscure the glory of the great Frederic, in acquiring superior same, he soon desired to appear infallible, and to impart this infallibility to all his officers, civil and miliatary, from the general to the corporal, and from the judge to the cryer of the court.

Nothing could offend him more than to acquaint him that a judge had suffered himself to be corrupted. This I found by my own experience. When I denounced to him the samous counsellor of the imperial chamber, von Zetto, as a knave, he said to me, "A judge cannot, must not be in the wrong; "otherwise the whole beach would cease to "be revered, and become impotent. He "who offends a court of justice is guilty of

" an offence against me." would alsie all

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I lost by this affair thirteen thousand slorins, and was obliged to hold my peace; whilst Zetto was appointed to administer my property, and most unmercifully sleeced me for twelve years; till at length, in consequence of fresh crimes, he was forced to sweep the streets of Vienna, and died in the house of correction.

To render the world thoroughly acquainted with the conduct of a Vienna court of justice, I cannot do better than depict the judicium militare mixtum of that place in its true colours; which will certainly make every honest man shudder, and pity those who have to seek redress from such judges. This I shall do farther on.

Circumstanced as things were, Joseph could not introduce any alteration. A few of the judges and counsellors indeed he set in the pillory: but this only served to draw the links of the chain closer together, and he was so much the more deceived; more than any of his predecessors, who suffered themselves to be guided by their spiritual directors. Materials from which to make a selection he

could not find, and he wanted penetration to distinguish the villain wearing the mask of hypocrify from the man of honour without disguise: thus he treated all with suspicion, was restless and fearful in conducting the improvements he planned, and every thing was jumbled together in chaotic consussion.

He thought to remedy the evil by an immense number of new laws, ordinances, and rescripts: but, as they were ill digested, ambiguous, or impracticable, none of his injunctions were fulfilled or carried into execution. Thus the old proverb—'a Vienna law holds but three days'—was confirmed, and every thing remained in the old way: nay the perplexity was still greater; knaves and intriguers had free scope, and despotism raged uncontrolled at court, in the army, and in the tribunals of justice.

Writings multiplied to fuch a degree, that it was difficult to supply the demand of paper for the lawyers; and their proceedings served, like the shades of a magic lantern, to amuse, without answering any purpose. I myself received, respecting my lordship, in one year, a vol. III.

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hundred and thirteen ordinances and printed rescripts from the regency and directory of the circle, of which not ten were applicable or capable of being carried into execution. What a young counsellor dreamt in the night, or some projector, vagabond, or blockhead buzzed in his ear, was introduced in the morning to the council, and afforded matter for some new decree.

It is well known that the feats of justice at Vienna are filled with two forts of men. The first consists of young, wealthy cavaliers, that post through the lower ranks, quickly to become presidents. At council these entertain themselves chiefly with stories of their amours, adventures of public places of amusement, their horses, or their pranks at court. Their knowledge and science are in general confined to the keys of the bed-chamber; and for the most part they possess neither capacity nor inclination to ferve the state. Their judicial functions, and the rights of the people, , for which they were placed on the venerable feats of justice, they leave to the referendaries, or the learned, as they are called.

The latter are partly blockheads, barely acquainted with the letter of the law; partly wily pettifoggers, versed in chicane. It is now generally known that men of this fort must live by presents and by their tricks. The more capable an advocate is of disguising the truth, and blinding the eyes of the judges, the more clients he gains. He, who undertakes to defend none but just causes, will certainly acquire neither wealth nor same at the bar. The cheat, the extortioner, the impostor, will pay treble from money not his own, and is consequently sure of his cause; whilst the honest man seeks no savour; and is neither willing nor able to see lawyers or judges.

One of these advocates no sooner gains an important cause for some cavalier, or minister and president, than through his patronage he steps into the seat of a counsellor or reserendary. Well then for them whose advocate is an old friend and colleague of the new made counsellor!—but, alas, for those who seek but literally their right! It is imagined, indeed, that sentences are passed in the council by vote: but he who is acquainted with Vienna knows, that very sew, if any of the counsellors.

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read the documents; of course they vote according to the statement of the referendary. Colleagues like these reciprocally do good turns for each other; and he who leads his fellow blindly to-day, will be ready to be led by him as blindly to-morrow. The prefident is generally an ignorant old cavalier: and if by chance a fingle honest man should be amongst the herd, and endeavour to interfere when he fees the groffest injustice on the point of being put in execution, his voice is drowned by that of the many, he is compelled to filence, and he is held out as a turbulent and odd mortal. As he gains no fees, his falary will not allow him to dress his wife with all the finery displayed by others in similar fituations; and, if her importunity and his domestic necessities do not urge him to turn rogue, he lives in contempt. Such are truly the proceedings of the chambers of theo bus basin ble jultice. Won out lo

I have been witness to a cause in the judicio militari mixto, where the referendary left his decision in the council-chamber, and subflitted another in its stead. This was returned from the supreme military court, paffed

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passed in due form; and when it came to be read, all present found it different from the one before agreed on. The surreptitious sentence was highly injurious to me, and particularly to my attorney, named Dorsner. He sought redress, and by humble intreaty obtained it. The referendary, however, remained unpunished, and his sentence against me was carried into execution. I remonstrated loudly, but my remonstrances were inessectual. This very man is now counsellor and referendary in the supreme military court, where he institled on me a severe-stroke of his vengeance.

To this must be added, the attorney Dorfner is rich, keeps an office for lending money on pledges, and advances to the judges their quarterly salaries. Woe betide the man that has against him an attorney to whom the counsellors are debtors!—every thing must follow his beck.

In other courts things are better conducted in a greater or less degree. I was an eye-witness to one sitting, when sixty-four litigants and twenty two advocates waited at the

door;

door, all of whom were dispatched within three hours. Is it impossible, that in these causes the right could have been properly investigated? Surely not. It follows, therefore, that every thing must have been determined according to the will of the advocates, or left to the direction of him who drew up the decisions. A will have the dinner our sentime

. Vigilant as he really was, what could Jofeph do, notwithstanding his good intentions, in a case where no partial reform could be of fervice, where it was necessary to pull the whole structure down to the ground, where coadjutors were wanting, and where amendment was labour in vain? Thus he fell upon palliative means, had a new code of laws formed, and yet permitted the old to remain in force. As long as the advocates could quote old and foreign jurists in their writings, prolixity and contradiction arose, that spun out causes to an endless length. Besides, all the laws were calculated to fill the purfes of the advocates. For example: 19 1919 6 13

I once faw the attorney Dorfner standing in the hall of the court of justice, when he Acob.

had eight and twenty causes to appear in that fession. He went into the council-chamber, had a hearing that did not take him up more than a quarter of an hour, came out, and went to another office, where the same was done for other parties. He had now folicited delays for twenty-eight clients, for each of which he charged three florins; of course, in the space of half an hour, he gained eightyfour florins for doing nothing. In every stage of the process he had a right to solicit delay three times, and the advocate for the opposite party had the same right. Thus the clients are fleeced, their fuit lengthened out, and the work of the judges amplified.

Still more. According to the custom of Vienna, which is generally known, the two advocates that carry on a suit for opposite parties are agreed before-hand who shall win the cause. The clients are only dallied with, and their purses drained, whilst the spoil is divided in a brotherly manner. Possession is here more than eleven points of the law; for he who holds any thing unjustly is

certain of gaining his cause, as he will be sure to pay best to secure it.

When these two advocates appear in court against each other, they contend with incredible sury: but it is wholly according to a preconcerted plan; and, if the referendary be not in the plot, they contrive to throw a mist before his eyes, so that the truth is completely distorted.

There is not a single instance in Vienna of an advocate's having been punished, for having undertaken the most palpably unjust cause. They have too many protectors, and are too intimately connected with the judges, to sear the pillory; and all the laws of the land are so contrived as to enable them to play the knave, and augment costs.

This is a true description of the Austrian tribunals, where nothing but the dread of starving could induce an honest man to accept the office of a judge, in which, a helples bystander, he can only sigh to heaven for vengeance, when he sees the most just of princes deceived, and feels his own power unavailing, opposed to that of the many.

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In this volume I shall adduce still more intimate proofs of these verities, which I have myself experienced, and which lie before my eyes. Amongst people so depraved, a prince is highly to be pitied, if he wish to perform the first of his duties, and render justice to every one of his subjects. He has the labour of an Hercules, an Augean stable to cleanse. Nay, Hercules had only the dung to evacuate; but he has the beafts alfo: and affes will bite and kick, and will bespatter with their stinking excrements those that attempt to purify their stalls.

In Vienna there is likewise a class of mencalled fanatics. These appeare God when they fit in council by counting over their beads, and imagine they give him pleasure, when they have an opportunity of injuring a heretic. As fuch I was reputed at Vienna: what wonder that I was to lose every cause?

The emperor, indeed, gives audience to every subject: access to him is free. But if any one complain to him of a court of juftice, his petition is fent to that very court. There complaints are never read, never inquired

quired into—consequently no information is taken but the usual one, that dispatches a thousand memorials with little trouble.

The demands of supplicants find no attention: so that oppressed men have only to appeal to heaven for vengeance and redress. The monarch himself has no time to examine things, the tribunals are void of feeling, and their pride is offended, and thus the case is totally remediless.

Better is it to follow the example of an Algerine slave, and submit to every thing in silence, than to call out for justice and surther investigation, or complain of a judge.

For mere amusement, or in consequence of a false accusation, the dey, or some cadi, orders a slave sifty bastinadoes. Perhaps the guiltless sufferer cries out for justice. Immediately a court is formed of ten other slaves, whose code is termed order, or most supreme court's ordinance, or judgment. Assuredly these will not venture to say that the former sentence was erroneous. What is the consequence? The petitioner gets sifty bastinadoes more, because his appeal

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was frivolous, and he has contumaciously refifted his superior.

As to many others in Vienna, just so has it happened to me, after I had actually demonstrated to a referendary that he was a villain. All dreaded me; they stuck one to another; I lost every cause; and the whole nest of hornets combined to prevent me from gathering any honey in Austria.

The reader will now pretty clearly perceive why the emperor Joseph was unable to effect any reform in the administration of justice; particularly as all his principles had for their basis despotism, which requires in a military government (as under his sway Austria was in fact to have become) a blind faith in the infallibility of every kind of superior, that represents the crowned vicegerent of the deity upon earth, and would reign with authority as unlimited as that of the Lord of Sabaoth.

He was well award of the too great power of the nobles, who, in a limited monarchy, from the middle link between the throne and the people, as a proper barrier of de-

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fence. On this account he fought to gain the foldiers, the citizens, and the peafants, and would not have been displeased had more Horias and Klotzkas risen up in all his provinces, to strangle the nobles, and enrich the treasury with their possessions. And indeed it would have been no great harm; as the too wealthy Hungarian and Austrian lords ferve only to devour the fat of the land, are of little use to the state, afforded the citizens no protection, the learned no esteem, and for the peasants are destitute of compassion.

Every fymptom of oriental despotism could not fail to strike the eye of the observing philosopher or politician. Every thing was conducted on the military plan with violence and severity. Professor, asterwards counsellor, Sonnensels, a converted Jew, who was reckoned amongst the learned only in Vienna, quia inter caeos regnat luscus*, already asserted from the chair, and was villain enough to maintain in his public writings,

^{*} As he that has one eye is a king amongst the blind."

that a subject has no property, and that every thing depends on the will of the monarch, who is above all laws.

All men of common sense should unite to buffet such a public teacher to death: yet the groveling inhabitants of Vienna sent their children to his school, where the base baboon sat swelling with pride, and fancied his name enrolled amongst those that give celebrity to Europe, though nothing but the whiffling children of poor slaves knelt before his shrine whilst he mumbled his All-saints' litany.

But what followed Joseph's attempts?

Throughout all his dominions he began the work of reform at the wrong end. Every where he suffered the impious doctrine of Sonnensels to be preached, yet, notwithstanding, wanted to secure property to the peasants, and take it only from the nobles. Hence discontent and murmuring every where arose; but the sear of an insurrection need disturb no man's slumbers in Austria. Nay, were it possible to assemble together in arms the whole people of Vienna, there are two means

of quieting them instantly: either give them a public ball at court, with abundance of poultry, pastry, and confectionary for them to devour; or let a few of the police foldiers lay down one of the foremost, and apply a fcore of bastinadoes on his breech, the rest would all become quiet, laugh at their cudgelled companion, and go home to gnaw the remains of a capon. Even haughty cavaliers that chanced to be turbulent might be treated in the same manner. The next day they would go to court, as proud as ever, but trembling with fear, attended by their most magnificent holiday equipage, and very fubmissively thank his majesty for remembering them in his kindness. This is the true national character, from which nothing is to be apprehended. Unfortunately, Joseph thought to manage Brabant and Hungary in the same style: thus the former was lost; and had he lived two months longer, Hungary would have been the same; already the infurrection was begun, and the German army was no longer at home there.

It was right of Joseph to introduce an equality

equality of taxes and imposts into Austriaand his hereditary dominions: he should have chosen honest and prudent men to have conducted an affair of fuch importance, and should have given it a different form and application: for the inequality is too striking, and too much at variance with common fenfe. For example: I have a vaffal in my lordship, who, in taxes of every kind, pays annually thirty-four floring. The peafant, who lives contiguous to him, possessing just the fame quantity of land, and of exactly fimilar quality, pays his lord a hundred and twenty florins a year. The vexations of the Auftrian peafants are horrible on many estates, the proprietors of which revel in luxury at Vienna, and their stewards drain the poor farmers, whilst their lords curry favour to protect and share in their rapacity.

If presents to the officers of the directories of the circles be properly distributed, the peasant cries for redress in vain. The emperor Joseph appointed two advocates at Vienna, and allowed them salaries, for the pur-

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pose of undertaking the causes of oppressed peasants against their lords. These privately received pensions from the tyrannic lords, and the peasants that came to them with complaints were thrust out by the shoulders. Thus it is in Austria.

On the other hand, no way was thought of for indemnifying the proprietors of land for what they left by the suppression of their tenths and other claims: and it was certainly cruel to rob them of their property. I lost by this twelve thousand florins*, which I had paid for them, by agreement, in ready money, to the person of whom I purchased my estate. As no middle way was thought of, the best schemes, for which many millions had already been thrown away in useless expences, and more than a hundred and thirty thousand florins + had been laid out in the articles of paper and tables of reform alone, unavoidably failed. Joseph died just as he saw it impossible to proceed: and Leopold was obliged to repeal and alter every thing. Thus things

* £.900. † £.9750.

continued in the old track; and the most admirable and necessary regulations vanished into air.

In Brabant a revolt broke out, and the province was totally lost, because it would suffer no innovations in the fundamental principles of its constitution.

The most laughable part of the story was, that the emperor fent for the most wise and honest men in Brabant, to teach them the forms of justice in the directories of the cir-Heavens, what a contrast! There was not an individual amongst them, who did not possess more understanding, probity, penetration, and political knowledge, than all the Austrian directors together, with the ceconomical, financial, and regency counfellors inclusively. These men took their seats under raw inexperienced youths, or corrupt perverters of justice, the actual tyrants of the country, to learn from them to render Brabant quiet and happy. How is it possible to affimilate a Brabanter with a stupid Austrian? How should Austrian severity, and the imperious style of despotism, ever be familiarised to the free native of Brabant? Time proved the consequence of the attempt, in the loss of the province.

What follows too is remarkable.

When the emperor Joseph saw the loss of his best province, he was mean enough to send a supplication to the pope, who had in reality first lighted the torch of rebellion, that he might compel the Brabanters to return to their duty, by threatening them with excommunication. In Rome this was matter of laughter; of every politician it excited the assonishment.

At the same time he wrote to the highly incensed nation, that all the acts of violence of the commander in chief, general Dalton, and his minister Trautmannsdorf, were committed without his orders, and that he would deliver those two men up to them to punish. What incredible conduct for a monarch! Count Trautmannsdorf has openly justified himself in print at Vienna, and has made public all the emperor's letters and orders, which palpably give the lie to his affertion. Dalton's adjutant deserted, and carried the Brabanters an original letter

letter of the emperor, according to which the general was not to spare the child in the mother's womb, was to fubdue all before him, and to tiehis prisoners, after the Tartarian manner, to his horses' tails. With such fickleness, irrefolution, meanness, and duplicity, acted this monarch, when he wished to disguise his faults, and appear different from what he actually was. On this occasion I must give the world another specimen of his character, which is known only to a few in France.

I came to Paris just as the emperor had departed, and dined with the minister, count de Vergennes, in whose esteem I stood high. In a private conversation with him before dinner, I asked, What he thought of my sovereign, whom he now knew personally?

The count, who was not ignorant of my way of thinking, and spoke to me often with great confidence, faid, " He is a man without " character, a dangerous bad prince, whom I " would trust even less than the king of Prus-" sia." To induce him to proceed, I defended the emperor. - At length he broke out, and told me, that the monarch advised him to Milym

announce a national bankruptcy, in order to clear France from all her debts.

To this he answered: "Should such an event " take place, your majesty's own subjects in " Brabant would lose more than eighty millions."-" Do not let that deter you from a "bankruptcy," answered Joseph; "give me " half that fum, and you shall have my affent."

I was aftonished, and gave up my defence: but I know that Vergennes had imparted the fecret to some of the discontented Brabanters. and it continued not a little to occasion diftrust of him, and to excite that fermentation which foon after took place, which foon after took place,

The emperor had also proposed to Frederic, king of Prussia, at their conference in Silesia, to divide the German dominions; and, at the time that the exchange of Bavaria transpired, he had concerted with France a division of Germany, and the affair was agreed on. These two circumstances were the true springs of the alliance between the princes of the empire, of which Frederic had the art to avail himself, and to which Joseph paid little attention. These important discoveries I pledge myfelf

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myself to the reader to be political secrets, of the truth of which I had opportunity to satisfy myself thoroughly, and which I can affirm on my word of honour. Under the reign of such a prince, what was to be expected, but general discontent at home, and wars on every hand abroad, to quell that spirit of ambition which he had incautiously betrayed?

The grand occupation of the court of Berlin was to observe him narrowly, to frustrate his designs, and to seize every opportunity of enseebling the power of Austria.

His pride had been foothed, and erroneous ideas of the invincibleness of his army had been impressed on his mind: hence on every occasion he spoke of nothing but his three hundred thousand warriors, and sought occupation for them from every quarter.

By his flatterers he had been told that he was born to eclipse the same of Frederic; and he really believed, that, on his appearance in the field, the sun of the Prussian hero would set, Joseph alone would subdue the world, and every potentate throughout the globe would receive laws from his mouth. The

princes of the empire, whom he could not bear, fince prince Kaunitz had represented them as weak and contemptible, he would lead vanquished to Vienna in triumph, like Cæsar.

These notions transpired: a trap was laid for him: he fell into it: and became an object of ridicule. The Palatine ambassador at Vienna, baron Ritter, was the principal tool employed by the court of Berlin to incite him to the grand step, which exhibited him as the usurper of the liberties of Germany.

This artful man, who had gone regularly through all the stages of the diplomatic office in Vienna, was well acquainted, from a fix and twenty years experience, with the methods of doing business in that metropolis; an acceptable companion both in female and in learned focieties; a true courtier, whom the old minister Beckerr had formed, and who, by his great influence amongst the ladies and spiritual directors of the court, was so much beloved, that he was actually the organ of all the foreign ambassadors, who were desirous of making important discoveries, or had great objects in view. Skilled in the knowledge of mankind, ritaces

mankind, he had so flattered himself into the good graces of Joseph, that he possessed his entire considence. As Ritter was the bosom friend of Beckerr, by whom Joseph was led, and who had the welfare of Bavaria less at heart than his own, these two, instructed by the court of Berlin, concluded the convention between the emperor and the elector, who was a weak man, in such a way, that Joseph was made to appear as an usurper and an enemy of the German states; for the purpose of affording the subtle Frederic an opportunity of representing him in those characters, effectuating an alliance between the princes of the empire, and attacking him to advantage.

This was the grand scheme; and the plans which Ritter well knew how to concert to draw the emperor into the snare, ensured its success. With the consent of the court of Berlin, Joseph might have accomplished his purpose: but this was not the intention of Prussia; and the event sell out just as his enemies wished, through the artistice of Ritter, who had such ascendency over the emperor, that till his death he remained in Vienna undiscovered

discovered and respected, filled his purse from every hand, and shone the most splendid luminary of the diplomatic horizon in a court of which he was accelerating the downfal. What the well-informed Bavarians thought of him, or of the death of their sovereign, the elector, who soon after signing the convention departed for a more honest world, is not for me to judge, or to make known. Suffice it, that a war with Prussia broke out, and Joseph's bewildered imagination was leading him straight to Berlin.

Accident at that time brought me thoroughly acquainted with the whole intrigue of Ritter. The archduke Leopold, afterwards emperor, arrived at Vienna, just as Joseph had set off for Bohemia, to join his army on its march. I had a great affection for that prince, came from Paris and Manheim to Vienna, went to him, and discovered to him the whole secret; pointing out the great danger in which this war would involve Austria, the hidden designs that I knew were to be carried into execution during its progress, and which would inevitably break out

on all sides, particularly amongst the discontented Hungarians.

His determination was: — "My dear "Trenck, to-morrow morning I must follow "the emperor to Bohemia. Write me a let"ter, and send it off, by an express, as if I
"had ordered you to come to me in the "morning, and, being gone before you ar"rived, you had written this letter, the con"tents of which you wished me to make "known to the emperor. In it say every "thing that you have now disclosed to me "with so much zeal, and will make use of it "to your advantage."

I obeyed his directions literally, and difpatched the letter by an express, whom I paid myself.

At his return to Vienna, Leopold informed me, that he received the letter, as he was mounting on horseback with the emperor to ride round the camp. On Joseph's inquiring its contents, he gave it him to read. The emperor perused it attentively, similed, returned it to him, and said, "Trenck is certainly a charming writer."

This was the consequence, this the effect,

The event proved, that I clearly foresaw what foon followed, and what would shortly have broken out, had not the sagacious Theresa found means to achieve a peace. Such is the Austrian reward of a good action. Joseph had too high an opinion of his skill in the art of war to suffer himself for a moment to doubt that he should subjugate and give laws to all Europe. The experienced Maria Theresa almost by compulsion yielded to her son thirsting after same, blood, and war; and permitted her sorces to march, whilst she was secretly negotiating a peace at Berlin.

Three days before the actual irruption of the Prussians into Bohemia, I wrote to Jofeph:

"When the mighty Joseph took the field, when the mighty Joseph took the field, wage war in earnest. All his preparations were only bugbears, to hinder the latter from getting po ession of Bavaria—Another game will soon appear, if he will open his "eyes."

Thus blinded by vanity and prejudice, did Joseph appear on the theatre of military fame in Bohemia, though he certainly posfessed not the qualifications requisite for performing the part of a hero with effect and applause, as the event sufficiently proved. Frederic entered his territories under his nose, and the timid Joseph's ardour for marching straight to Berlin vanished in an instant.-Terrified at the attack, he intrenched himself with his far more numerous army, whilst his opponent laid Bohemia under contribution.

Certain it is, that the emperor, who before the actual breaking out of the war dreamt of nought but victory, faid at the head of one of his regiments, " My lads, prove yourselves " the foldiers of Joseph; -before the year is " at an end I will lead you into Berlin."

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Confidence in the young hero, and the Vienna rhodomontades, actually reached to fuch a pitch, that some inhabitants of that city followed the camp with waggons laden with wine, for which they gave the officers credit on the plunder of Berlin, whither they were to proceed with their empty waggons, to get them filled with the booty.

I myfelf know a man, who was fo firmly perfuaded K 2

persuaded of the success of the expedition, that he lost three thousand florins, which he had advanced on no better security. As the imprudent always find somebody on whom to throw the blame of their own misconduct, they who suffered for their folly indulged themselves in reviling Theresa, for depriving them of the plunder of Prussia by a precipitate peace.

That I was affured what would follow, a ship-master of Ratisbon experienced highly to his benefit. This man, named Keller, had purchased of the elector an exclusive privilege, in virtue of which no one but himfelf was to transport corn on the Danube from Bavaria to the Austrian territories. He complained to me of his grievance, in that the Imperialifts, fince they had been in poffession of the suburbs of Ratisbon, had granted the same permission to every vessel without exception; and affured me, that he was ready to give two thousand ducats to the person that would get his old privileges confirmed at Vienna. I faid to him, - " My friend, if you will follow my counsel, keep " your

"your money: I will engage, that within fix." months every thing will be on the old footing, and no Austrian government will give
laws in Ratisbon." He took my advice,
and afterwards thanked me for it.

I enriched also a poor bird-fancier in Vienna, by persuading him to teach all his magpies, parrots, and starlings, to say nothing but

" The Prussians are beaten."

Presently throughout the town these birds were heard crying, like the Vienna politicians and idlers in every street and cosseehouse, "The Prussians are beaten;"—and the man found customers in abundance for them, at twelve ducats a piece.

Such is the national character; and at that time it was woe betide the man who ventured to express a doubt that Joseph would march straight to Berlin, and annihilate the power of Prusia.

I prophesied differently; and thus rendered myself suspected, and raised up enemies on all sides. The emperor himself, at the breaking out of the Bavarian war, made me

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the following proposal. — "Trenck, you "have now an opportunity of being reveng"ed on the Prussians. I will give you per"mission to raise a corps, and to ravage the "country."

My answer was,-" I have no reason to " revenge myself on my native country: in " Hungary I have loft an hundred times as " much as in Prussia: Eight children have " now claims on me for fulfilling the duties of co a parent. If your majesty will affure me "that only a third part of the property un-" juttly wrested from me by count Grassalko. " witz shall be restored to my children, if in " the course of the war I lose my life in your " fervice, I am ready to employ my fword for " you as a foldier, but not as a robber."-A fcornful fneer was the fignal of my difmission; and the injurious reply he made, not to my face, but to prince Charles Lichtenstein, alienated my heart wholly from him.

"I am now convinced that Trenck is "fill a Prussian in his heart, which I have "long suspected: he is a dangerous man, and "knows too much."

Such an opinion, uttered by a monarch equally suspicious and revengeful, would have alarmed another person: but I remained a stranger to sear, in spite of every danger, and every-where maintained the truth, regardless of his spies, whilst my conduct had the approbation of my own heart.

Thus circumstanced, I travelled into Hungary, inquired, examined, and saw a favourable opportunity for acting an important part: yet I kept myself quiet, availed myself not of my personal advantages, preached patience and observance of their civil duties to the people, and acquired a knowledge of the malcontents.

From that time the emperor in general avoided feeing me, delivered me over unprotected to the chicane of the Vienna courts, and fought occasions to make me hold my tongue: yet armed with honesty I stood firm as a rock, opposed injustice, and contended against villany, whilst, conscious of my right and of my deserts, my pride distained to give way.

I had reason, however, to be particularly prudent,

prudent, since, at the conference in Silesia, the great Frederic had told the credulous and suspicious emperor, that he should not confide in me, as I was a sickle and dangerous person. This he said, because he knew that had free access to the emperor, and had it in my power to give him such information and instruction as he might employ to benefit his own country at the expence of Prussia, and to discover to him those who were employed to seduce and missead him.

Thus I remained inactive; and it was Frederic's aim to remove all honest and intelligent men from about Joseph, at a time when he was sole master, yet showed a desire of information, and consequently was in the way of sometimes receiving good advice.

Surrounded by monks and flatterers, prompted by vain boasters, encouraged by petty despots, led by inexperienced guides, Joseph could never become great, could never become an object of his apprehension. It was his aim to keep every thing as long as possible in the old track at Vienna, and to render it impracticable for any sovereign of Austria

Austria to become a Frederic: and whilst men acquainted with the world, persons of honesty and experience, and people possessed of genius above the common level, were kept remote from all influence on affairs of state, or on the hearts and the education of young princes, the power of Prussia would stand secure. This was the real cause of my remaining idle during the reign of Joseph. In the beginning of it, however, I gave him feveral plans; but all of them were mutilated. in the execution. My unfurmountable deteftation of the hearts of the court of Rome is well. known. I had here a fine field before me, and beheld with heartfelt pleasure the freedom of the press breaking forth, gross prejudices vanishing, the gates of cloisters opening, and the power of the priesthood daily diminishing. But Joseph could not disburden himself of the prejudices he had fucked in with his mother's milk; and from the period of the pope's visit to Viennahebecame timid and wavering. He returned to his beads, though he counted them in private: fuperstition gained the ascendency over his mind: the powers of learning and science were insufficient to emancipate him from K 5

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from its shackles: he began to visit the confessional, and receive absolution incognito; and in the same way made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mary, on whose altar he offered a pair of golden eyes, in consequence of his having recovered from an ophthalmy. Every one that attempted to dissipate the mist in which he was involved now appeared to him an heretic, and an enemy to his soul. On sisting the matter to the bottom, and finding it true, I took my leave of him in silent forrow, and lamented his dominions, sast sinking back into the mire of superstition, from which they had been nearly extricated.

He had undertaken great things; more than was conceived possible; more than all his predecessors together.

In a truly heroic manner he attacked the hierarchy, and appeared determined to break all the invisible chains forged by the court of Rome: but he did not pursue his design with firmness to the close. He began his undertaking at the wrong end, wavered in its execution, and, though incredible things were actually performed in Austria, where some of the privy counsellors and ministers already began

began to read sensible books, without asking the consent of their consessors; yet much of this new creation rolled back into its old chaos, when people again beheld the emperor kneeling as a penitent sinner before the priest, counting his beads, and publicly associating with jugglers in cowls.

Monasteries it is true were suppressed: but the monks, instead of being sent to Rome, were disposed of in towns and villages, as preachers or vicars, where they had more opportunity than ever to spread their holy mummery amongst the people, to whom they represented themselves as the persecuted martyrs of religion, whilit they bellowed forth their controverfial dogmas from every pulpit. The fame of Joseph would have been more immortal than that of all possible heroes, had he conducted with manly firmness the falutary work he began, and, to the no small benefit of his dominions, completely strangled the Roman hydra. But he only extorted a little pelf from the clergy, and prevented them not from doubly repaying themselves out ofthe purses of those blockheads in whom they had the art to excite compassion.

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His weapons were too feeble for him to gain the victory, in the contest between reafon and fuperstition. Thus he funk under the force of cunning, and became a fanatic in private, whilst he was ashamed of his weaknefs. I penetrated him at first fight; but he no where found help, for he ventured not to feek it. The artful spies of Rome did not let flip a favourable opportunity. With them co-operated the failure of his enterprizes, which his weak mind attributed not to his own misconduct, but to the vengeance of the founders of the facred orders, whom he had offended both in heaven and earth. He wavered, gave way, and, had he longer lived, the Inquifition had certainly been introduced into Vienna, and he would have invented for it new modes of torture. Heaven be praifed! may we fay, that, entertaining fuch notions, he died just in time, before the ecclefiaftics, affociating in fecret, had introduced a general massacre into the Austrian dominions, to rival the St. Bartholomew of France. At fuch a day he would have smiled, and would have given the possessions of the

protestants, as an indemnification to the rapacity of the monks.

Yet has Joseph the honour to be numbered amongst those great reformers, who merit the praise and gratitude of posterity, for the light they have emitted in an age of darkness. This great undertaking palliates many defects in his life; and on this account alone I respect his ashes, that after such a sanguinary education, he had courage, even in the midst of the fanatic inhabitants of Vienna, to commence an attack, which, had it been stedfastly followed up, might have had the happiest effects on the human mind, and rendered effential service to the power of Austria. May heaven reward him for his good intention, and guard his fucceffors from falling into the pit, in which Romish politics have held so many kings fettered like abject flaves!

I certainly laboured with pleasure in Austria, before I was persectly acquainted with the emperor: but as soon as he began to deem me a heretic, I foresaw the consequences of his weakness, and retired from the court, lamenting the sate of such a sine

country,

country, which blockheads knew not how to enjoy.

As Joseph now grew daily weaker, from the difease he had brought upon himself, his constant recourse to his beads could not diminish his fear of purgatory; the directors of his conscience only threw oil into the fire, and his own heart could not affure him that he had lived the friend of his fellow-creatures. His scruples so increased, that, for three years before his death, he was often heard repeating aloud his Ave-Maria. Even when he indulged himself in facrificing to Venus, on his knees he repeated a litany with the priestess, that he might obtain absolution. So deep did he fink into the vilest superstition whilft alive; and he died, like the most simple capuchin friar, in the midst of agony and terrour.

No man upon earth ever suffered more in his last days than the emperor, who beheld all his designs frustrated before his death. The Brabantines, whom he despised, and for whom he would have forged chains, he saw actually shake off the yoke of his government: none of his despotic orders were obeyed: on the bed of sickness he found his reputation sunk as low as possible, while his subjects were preparing to celebrate his suneral with sessivals of joy: all the commands he had issued respecting Hungary he was obliged to repeal: in every one of his political schemes he was duped: and he learnt what monarchs are who injure men of all conditions, and sancy themselves infallible, while no one ventures to tell them the truth.

Yet Joseph deserved a better sate; since, in many of his undertakings, his intentions were good, though they failed from his not knowing how to carry them properly into execution. The free-spirited Brabantines should not have been dealt with like groveling Austrians; the proud Hungarians, not like the stubborn natives of Bohemia. The Hungarian must forget his mother-tongue before he could consent to forego the sundamental laws or privileges of his nation. The crown, the palladium of superstition, was forcibly conveyed from Presburg to Vienna, in an ignominious manner, by soldiers of the police:

police: and this circumstance, insignificant in itself, stirred up a whole kingdom to revolt.

The wilfulness of the emperor, who fought every-where to introduce a flavish military government, and tread underfoot the rights of man, alone occasioned all the insurrections, and all infults, to which in his latter days he was exposed. His personal enemies, and the foes of his dominions, availed themselves of the opportunity; whilft his tyrannical counfellors made a jest of the monarch, who had loft the hearts of his people, and under fuch circumftances engaged in ruinous foreign wars. In Bohemia, in Tyrol, discontented spirits already began to make their appearance. The people of Gallitzir were reduced. to fuch a point, that they had nothing to lose; and, driven to the brink of despair, they were compelled to arm in their own defence, against the villains, who, picked from the fcum of all that was most abject, stupid, and rapacious in Vienna, were fent to be their governors. The consequences were easy to be foreseen; and Joseph died just in time to prevent the separation of all. : outlide the

the Austrian provinces. Such are the effects of ruling with a rod of iron, when the despot has not the priesthood on his side, and his army is engaged with foreign enemies. At a necessary epoch succeeded to the throne a gentle Leopold, whose condescension, benevolence, and magnanimity, averted the threatening storm, appealed the irritated minds of the people, and allayed his fermenting states: whereas Joseph might have been termed the scourge of the earth, had the schemes, to which his lust of arbitrary power urged him, been practicable.

On this occasion I must not omit to notice the celebrated dispute concerning the Scheldt, which does the emperor little honour, and evinces that he sought on all sides pretences to gratify his thirst of glory.

One count Proli, a visionary projector, and a man of large promises, came to Vienna, and established a company for trading from Trieste to the East Indies. He sound prince Kaunitz, the chancellor of the exchequer, count Hatzseld, and some other wealthy great men, with the avaricious banker Fries, ready

to form a company with him. Not one of these gentlemen, however, had any knowledge of such a commerce. Count Hatzseld asked me what I thought of it. My answer was:

"The Dutch are in possession of this trade, confequently we must always buy of them. They well know before-hand, from their correspondents, what goods we fend out, and with what we load our ships home. Now the moment they find the least decrease of their trade, they will freight their veffels with the same merchandise as we, and fell it at thirty per cent. loss: then will our bankruptcy be inevitable. On the other hand, they will foon indemnify themselves for this lofs, as their capital and credit will bear them out. Besides, at least eight ships must be employed in the East-India trade, to make the gain balance the lofs in case of an accident. When the Austrians engage in it with only two, therefore, if one of them be cast away, there is an end of the trade."

I knew, too, the character of count Proli, who would take care to enrich himself at the expence expence of his partners. But no attention was paid to my advice; and within two years my predictions were fulfilled.

The veffels were laden, and, under the name of Kaunitz, proudly fet fail. The ship-captain Sampson already threatened the Philistines of Holland that he would pull their temple of commerce about their ears. None of the partners, however, was prepared to lend him a jaw-bone, should he need it, to slay his thousands upon thousands.

The emperor Joseph himself entrusted the adventurer with half a million of storins out of the public treasury.

Already the ships, one of which was to load at Ostend, were expected back.

Fries in the mean time had been informed of a toll upon the Scheldt. His avarice prompted him with the wish to fave this, his share of which probably would not have amounted to a hundred florins. This trifle gave rise to the dispute concerning that river. Every occasion for employing his arms against a free people was welcome to Joseph. He resolved, before he saw, or even thought of

the consequences.—The menace was iffued, and all guaranties and treaties laughed at. Joseph was determined that the navigation of the Scheldt should be free, though he had not a single bark to launch on its waters. Holland afferted its right, and threatened to fire on the Imperial flag.

This the emperor told Fries, and appeared undecided. The banker answered:—"The "Dutch will never have courage to fire a "cannon against your majesty's colours. "But if they should fire?—I will give my-"felf to the devil for a farthing if they "do."—"Yet, notwithstanding, suppose "they should?" replied Joseph.—"Then, "fire, for a war; and the conquest of

" Holland." I was a responsible to

The prudent emperor followed the merchant's counsel. The Dutch actually fired. Thus the affront was given. Now was the army marched for Holland; and the predatory bands of Wallachia were embodied, to plunder every ducat in Amsterdam. But, alas! all ended with disgrace; they returned home with empty pockets; the expences of the war were lavished to no purpose; Fries' vessel was cast away before it arrived at the Scheldt; count Proli, the director, declared the gulled company bankrupt; and it was reported at Paris, that the queen of France privately conveyed ten millions of slorins to Holland, to save the emperor's honour. He appeared, however, on the political theatre, as an usurper, and a perturbator of the public peace, who contemptuously trampled on the most sacred articles of the treaty of Westphalia.

As this dispute about the Scheldt gave the people of Vienna scope to indulge the expectations of that vanity to which they are prone, and the emperor was already preparing for his coronation in Amsterdam, I went to Schoenbrunn, and paid a visit to the head gardener, vad der Schott, a man whom I much efteemed, as he possessed more real knowledge than many of the counfellors of state. As foon as the first falutations were over, he said: "The " emperor has just been with me, and stood " talking more than an hour. Amongst " other things, I faid to him: 'With your " majesty's permission, I will write to Haar-" lem for a few flips of flowers.'-The em-" peror " peror started from his seat: his eyes stashed "fire. 'No,' answered he, 'you shall not "write: within six weeks I will setch them myself from Haarlem at the head of my "army."

The gardener, who knew the Dutch, and knew the emperor, laughed heartily within himself at his inconsiderate ambition, and endeavoured to convince him that it was no easy matter to proceed to Haarlem with an army so expeditiously. The monarch treated him with contemptuous raillery; called him a Dutch patriot, and a blockhead; declared, upon his honour, that he had already given orders for marching straight to Amsterdam; and left him much displeased, that he doubted the success of the expedition, and pretended to be wifer than he and his counsel.

Thus opiniative was the monarch, with refpect to his power and skill in politics, obstinate in the pursuit of his unenlightened conceptions, and yet feeble in the execution of them.

The difgraceful termination of the war of the Scheldt, which was actually occasioned by the money-broker Fries, was foon followed by the death of that excellent political counfellor.

One after another, the emperor stopped up every fource from which the banker's riches flowed. He had found out the way in Vienna to perfuade the court to encourage monopolies, and to lead the ministers to prodigal indulgence and abuse of the public treasures. Nothing escaped Fries, and he had the art of blinding men, fo that, like chaffinches in a cage, they would fing at court for him alone. He was the most avaricious miser upon the face of the earth: yet, not fatisfied with the honour of being the wealthiest man in Vienna, he purchased the title of count, as soon as he was mafter of four millions, and refolved, when he had increased them to eight, to become a prince.

He was aware, however, that the emperor obstructed the farther accumulation of his wealth. All his attempts had hitherto proved successful.—When one of his schemes failed for the first time,—when he discovered that it was impracticable for him to attain to eight millions, and the rank of prince, he took the

last resource of proud avaricious sharks;—he purchased a halter, and tucked himself up in his own palace. This is the truth of a story, which so much pains have been taken to conceal at Vienna, and this the real end of the wealthy banker Fries. From my heart, I wish, that every one, who aims to grow rich by sharping, monopolising, and court savour, may experience the same fate.

I could not avoid wishing the same end to the chancellor of the exchequer in Hungary, count Graffalkowitz, who reduced to poverty many worthy families, that he might purchase the title of prince for his heirs, those useless members of the community. Me and my children he deprived of fome millions, in despite of all the fundamental laws of the realm; and in fending to his own house waggons laden with gold, filver, and valuables, for which he never accounted to the exchequer, he committed an actual robbery. All Hungary knows that he was a poor charity scholar, never carried on any business, and yet left behind him fix millions. This fum he could not certainly have faved out of his falary:

falary: confequently he could not have acquired it by honest means. A figh escapes me unavoidably. Therefa gave him a commission to plunder, and his children have married into fuch families, and are allied to fo many grandees, that it is utterly impoffible for me or my children ever to obtain our right. He is now dead; and his fon, at prefent, a prince among princes, as a S. v. D***k is amongst jackpuddings, struts in coftly furs, purchased with the property of the family of Trenck, instead of going humbly, as he ought, clad in Hungarian frieze. I wish him that heaven in which Fries is now counting his ducats; and I pray that the heirs of my misfortunes may have better opportunity to execute what my excessive highmindedness led me to neglect. If the present monarch read these pages, may he do more than his predecessors in the cause of justice. and fulfil the duties of a prince, when I in my grave pity those who must bow before the wealthy-privileged robbers of a court. The emperor Joseph would not make reparation; the emperor Leopold could not; and I am VOL. III.

too

quainted with the world, to take fresh numiliating steps before a young prince, who will not impeach the same of his predecessors for the sake of doing justice to a man, who cannot lead an army into the field, and who neglected the opportunity he once had to make himself of consequence.

But to return to the biography of Joseph.

This potentate, who only fought occasion for war, and with raw uncultivated talents, wished to imitate the great Frederic, of whom however he formed an erroneous judgment, suffered himself easily to be involved in a quarrel with Turkey, to which he was led principally by the Russian ambassador at Vienna, prince Gallitzin, whom I well knew, and always considered as the most dangerous enemy of the house of Austria; yet was he the oracle of the emperor, and inveigled him into that pit which was dug for him by the politicians of the north.

The penetrating Frederic said ten years before to his minister, who warned him against the enterprises of Joseph,—

"All the endeavours in the world will not keep him at peace for fix years: for in less than that time, if he have no employment abroad, he will turn every thing topsy-tur- vey at home, and will have insurrections on every side."

He who knew that monarch as I did, and has been an eye-witness of his capacity, his character, his conduct, will perceive evident tokens of the great Frederic in this just prediction. Yet he soon thought proper, when discontent in general prevailed among the subjects of Joseph, to bring a Turkish war upon his hands, to weaken him without trouble, as actually happened; then to humble him, and to become the dictator of Europe.

Joseph suffered himself to be seduced, in considerately broke loose, and formed a plan of operations, that ruined his army, exhausted his treasure, unmasked the tragedy hero, and exposed him in his real state of nakedness; whereby he lost all esteem, power, and the same he sought; nay, ultimately, his reputation, his honour, the love of his subjects, and even his life; leaving to the heir of his crown

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an Herculean task, to preserve his dominions from utter ruin. His campaigns, his military operations, evince neither the great man nor the hero. History records not another instance of two hundred thousand men so contemptibly, so badly conducted, so inactively led to the slaughter. No sooner, however, had he quitted the army, and relinquished the part of a hero, for which he was formed neither by nature nor art, to men who, taught by experience, understood the trade, but the sace of things was wholly changed: and now Frederic thought proper to dictate the ne plus ultra, and prescribed laws to enseebled Austria.

The treacherous scheme of surprising Belgrade in the midst of peace, though it failed from the stupid measures taken, will remain an eternal blot in the history of the rights of nations. No man of honour can attempt to justify it; and here the heart of Joseph stands fully displayed.

Indeed a striking contrast was observable in this potentate, whom nature intended for the slave of ambition. He possessed every mental gift requisite for a great prince: but his education was faulty; and when he endeavoured to remedy its defects, he fell into bad hands. As his disposition was by nature prone to despotism, cruelty, and insensibility; as he had to do with a nation totally depraved, and incapable of being amended otherwise than by force and severe punishments; as he found insurmountable obstacles to every innovation that tended to good; as he was a sworn enemy to literature, of which he had no just idea,—he would actually have been the severest of tyrants, had his life been of longer duration.

Here and there a glimmering light appeared, but he would not give himself the trouble to search after truth. The notions he imbibed in his childhood he was never able to surmount, because he wanted the will to fortify his understanding. He began, it is true, to see, to inquire, to remark the cunning of the priesthood, and to reform;—but, alas! stedsastness was wanting; scruples laid hold of his mind—the emissaries of Rome knew how to turn his weakness to their advantage; for-

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the most important projects for the weal of mankind were shaken to their foundations. He had the best inclinations to break the yoke of infantile prejudices—was ashamed at his ability to imitate the great Frederic, whom he had taken as a pattern—and knelt in secret at the confessional, before his indecisiveness would permit him to avow himself openly a slave of the church.

Prince blindly to believe every thing that Rome enjoins to be believed, to let others perform good works for him, to acquire by affiliation a common right in all the privileges of Franciscans, capuchins, and monks of every order, than to merit heaven by virtuous and noble actions of his own. Better is it, more convenient is it, to let a father confessor think and pray for him, than laboriously to search after truth himself. It is very quieting to the conscience to disburden itself once a week of all its troubles in the lump, and purchase heaven by a voluntary absolution; instead of living as the heretic reprobated by a righteous

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God, thinks, and the impious atheist believes he does, to merit acceptance and peace of mind by the fulfilment of all their duties towards mankind here in this earthly community, and rather acting well, than indulging in deeds of shame on the strength of penance, and the vicarious prayers of others.

Thus Joseph chose what in his judgment was the best: and his conduct during his illness, and at his death, proved, that I formed a just opinion of him at a time when every one hoped he was about to chace from his territories superstition, and extend the empire of reason. I observed him closely in all his proceedings for four-and-twenty years. I sought to gain the considence of those who had brought him up, who were his guides, who were as monarchs to him; and I resolved ever to keep as at great a distance from him as possible, and not to endeavour to ingratiate myself with him, as his assistants and implements must be the enemies of mankind.

During his journey into Russia, he acquired a taste for governing with clubs and scourges, and his observance of the Hungarians in Wala-

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chia tended not to increase his sensibility.— Like Walachians, he was tempted to treat his subjects; and punishments and tortures were invented, which, if disclosed, would make all men shudder.

He who has beheld the poor wretches condemned to drag vessels upon the rivers, their limbs laden with chains, their toil almost too severe for human strength, to which sickness brought no abatement, nor were the pags of disease ever mitigated by the expression of pity, till, eaten up by vermin, they actually gave up the ghost, -he who has observed the fearful prisons of Joseph, where men were immured and riveted fast in the midst of their own filth, -he who, knowing the manner in which they were tried, faw Zekely, lieutenant-colonel of the Hungarian guards, in the pillory at Vienna, and count Potztatzky, half cudgelled to death on a ship's gangway, languish and die, draws the curtain over them with grief and horror, enraged against the unfeelingnessand despotism of the tyrant,passes over in silence what he has really seen and known, as posterity must think such actions

tions impossible to have taken place in our days, and in a Christian country,—and is glad to slee naked from dominions where bastilles are not yet destroyed, and where such dreadful scenes are not yet impossible.

Joseph was naturally inclined to cruelty, but he did not exercise it till the failure of so many of his enterprises augmented his hatred. of mankind, and rendered his heart obdurate to the fufferings of others. Even in his childhood, when he could get at one of his fifter's canary-birds, he would pluck off its feathers, break its legs, and put it again into the cage. yet alive. To torture animals, above all to. ride horses to death, and to cudgel dogs, were his chief amusements. Even when emperor, he would go to Saxenburg, to the falconry, at five o'clock in the morning, when the birds were to be fed, would take the pigeon deftined for that purpose alive in his hand, turn it upon its back, and let the falcon devour it from the belly upwards, whilft he observed with smiles every convulsive motion of the fuffering victim: this was to him the supreme

He went into the most horrible prisons, not to bestow grace on the wretches confined in them, but to sharpen their punishments, which he viewed with eager eyes, inventing new ones himfelf, which would never have entered into the mind of a Nero. Even the women who were destined to his pleasures were tortured by his hand, as he was infenfible to the stimulus of tenderness or desire. Of all the women who fancied they had gained some ascendency over him he made a jest; he despised them after receiving their favours, and in his most amorous moments treated them like a brute. To prove it, I could relate a hundred affecting or ridiculous anecdotes, which modefly bids me conceal, as I would by no means permit any indelicacy to shock my readers. What follows, however, I must relate, as it ferves to delineate his and for chat, purpole all character.

The emperor Francis died suddenly in his arms of an apoplexy, and only prince Dietrichstein was present at the shocking scene. As his father lay on his left arm in the agonies of death, the son, smiling, took the keys out of

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his pocket with his right hand, too impatient to wait till he had breathed his last.

When his mother, Therefa, was on her death-bed, she gave him such a severe lecture on the badness of his heart, that he stung himself on the floor, wept, and rolled about in despair.

Six hours after the empress died, immediately he repaired to the apartment of the chief governante, who was present at the foregoing scene, and said to her, with a smiling countenance and a jesting mien:

"Countess, that was a fine sight a few hours ago: it was an excellent joke—did you really believe me in earnest?"

He, who in such circumstances could so act, had certainly no soul for what is great or noble: for the truth of these two anecdotes I pledge my honour.

Not for the pleasure of the chace, but from the thirst of murder, he delighted in hunting, where, well guarded, he would plunge his pike again and again into the dying animals, and listen to their groans as they lay desenceless, growling out their pangs. Bear-

fights he highly enjoyed; particularly when a horse, delivered to wild bears raging with hunger, was devoured alive, neighing, fnorting, and rolling his eyes in agony. He permitted the favage custom of baiting beasts at Vienna, to accustom the abject inhabitants to fuch fights, till an opportunity should offer to make them undergo the same fate. These were the best of all theatres and schools for hangmen, gaolers, commandants, and drillferjeants; though they did little honour to the national character; whilst at them tenderhearted females shouted applause, when a bear had feized a fwine and torn out his bowels, and the mingled uproar of drums, trumpets, and the cries of the animal, tickled their ears,—or a dog, his belly ripped up by the tulks of a wild boar, lay sprawling in the ring, to gratify their eyes. Nay, the more barbarity the keepers displayed, in dragging the poor beafts to the fight from their dens with their iron crooks, the more was the reputation of the bear-gardens enhanced.

. Joseph loved only hunting at force, when the stag, panting to escape, lolled out the fights

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tongue with fatigue, and received from the hand of majesty the death blow, that put an end to his torment. Unhappy the land, of whose sovereign war and savage hunting are the occupations! From doing good Joseph derived no fatisfaction; the business of government was foon a burden to him; and, as he never read a book, was a stranger to the sciences, and avoided the society of all men who were wifer than himfelf; he foon found time hang heavy on his hands, and fought war and long journeys to pass it away. In war, however, he was timid, intrenched himfelf, and remained inactive before far inferior forces; and was the fole occasion that a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, who might have attacked and defeated the enemy with ease, perished in hospitals for want of proper care. Thus he was a feeble general, a weak law-giver, a fevere judge, and confequently a prince unfortunate in all his undertakings. I wrote the following lines for his epitaph: Hiw thand tollessed with side

Joseph attempted much, completed nought,

But what to all his fubjects forrow brought."

In his funeral fermon, which I published, with permission, at Vienna, I inserted the following passage.

"Cover his grave his subjects have sufficient reason to shed tears; but not derived from that source whence they ought to

Yet had he some good qualities. He was laborious, but employed himself too much in trifles. He appeared humane and openhearted, and in fociety was a pleafant companion; yet in his heart he made a jest of every man without exception. He was always fober, temperate in his meals, and drank no wine; but in the gratification of his lufts. he was brutifuly immoderate. In little things mean and avaricious, he was prodigal in great ones, when they indulged favourite passions, his pride, his obstinacy, or his ambition. In private he kept a black book, in which he wrote the names of perfons, whom, at a proper time, he intended to perfecute and ruin. This his fucceffor burnt, without opening it.

His truly heroic enterprise against the Romish hierarchy would have been an eternal monument monument to his honour, had he not wavered in its execution. The ice was broken, the obstacles removed, and the victory over superstition certain. The freedom of the press had already performed miracles—but the revolution in Brabant alarmed him, and showed him that a tyrant needs the affistance of the church to co-operate with him in his attempts on the liberties of mankind. The French revolution added to his terror; and the cunning monks judiciously represented the devil in such a fearful shape to his unsettled mind, that he fell into the lowest gulf of fanaticism.

The state, indeed, would have gained considerable sums by the suppression of so many monasteries, had the commissioners employed on the occasion been honest disinterested men. The imprudent wars, however, entered into by the emperor, dissipated more than twice the amount; and his truly expensive journeys, which were of no service either to himself or his people, counteracted every scheme that tended to enrich the treasury, and in fact rendered it empty. His amours cost him little, as they extended only to girls of a

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low class, who made no heavy demands on his purse. In Paris, indeed, and in Venice. they plucked him a little. Yet, though he thus faved his money, he paid dearly in his health, as the diseases consequent to an intercourse with such women conducted him, by a painful death, at an early period to his tomb. distributed to the end of the

His inclination to make his dominions prosperous, and to correct abuses on all sides. was certainly good; but he was too precipitate in every thing, heaped ordinances upon ordinances, half digested his projects, was too short-fighted in their application, indecifive: in his conduct, never confiftent with himfelf. hafty in iffuing edicts, obscure and equivocal in his expressions, advising with his counsel. after he had expedited his decrees, which were then followed by explanatory acts, and foon after repealed. Multifariousness and obscurity in laws are the most certain signs of a weak legislator: and no-where can these be more conspicuous than in his code, which fome pettifogger must have scraped together: for fince its use law-fuits have been multiplied without end, counsellors and attorneys

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not a whit more honest; injustice and deceit have no check; and all who are oppressed may sigh unpitied. Another proof of his weakness appears in his attention to talebearers, and whisperers of scandal. All Vienna and Hungary swarmed with pensioned spies, who had it in their power to ruin the most honest of mankind. Even the commonest strumpets were employed by him for this purpose; and his private society could boast no great, no learned, no enlightened man.

With all the cunning he displayed, he was more deceived than any of his predecessors, as all things united to blind his eyes, impose on his credulity, and weary him out; whilst so many projects wandered through his brain, that he maturely considered none of them, stumbled at the most superficial obstacles, and had too little firmness to persevere in a laborious undertaking; whence he was ever wavering and undecided.

His inconsistency will ever remain wonderful. He appeared an enemy to monks; yet knelt knelt before them at the confessional. From places of pilgrimage he ordered the votive tables to be removed; yet, in consequence of a vow, on recovering from an inflammation that had attacked his organs of sight, himself offered at the shrine of Mary a pair of golden eyes.

He permitted people to write openly against the gross abuses of religion, against the tricks and impostures of monks; yer he daily counted his beads to obtain absolution. He wished to act the part of an hero, yet he never ventured to attack the weakest of all possible enemies; displayed the cowardliness of his heart on every occasion; remained a whole year inactive before Belgrade, faw his best foldiers bleed unrevenged, and his ignominious retreat from Schupaneck, with his reputed invincible army, when he had nothing to fear, will remain an eternal record of difgrace in the military history of Austria. He wished to be beloved; yet acted in the most arbitrary manner. He wished to be thought just; yet fuffered unjust judges to go unpunished. He wished to be an economist; yet squandered

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obstinate measures.

In seeking to promote industry, he annihilated it. In seeking to improve the internal constitution of his states, he offended all classes of men, occasioned discontent and commotions, and at so improper a time engaged in a Turkish war, the consequences of which must inevitably frustrate all his designs.

He was defirous to appear just, without being so; inflicted punishments arbitrarily, and never rewarded with willingness; pardoned none, and aggravated the fentences of criminals, without regarding the laws. Nature bestowed on him an understanding, which he knew not how to employ. A flave to fuperstition, he wished to feem superior to its prejudices. In short, considered in a true. light, he was a fingular man. Actually wifer than any of his predeceffors, he yet threw every thing into fuch confusion, that the total destruction of the Austrian monarchy must have enfued, had he lived half a year longer, and not been succeeded by a mild, prudent; Water) laborious

matters in time, and effecting the convention of Reichenbach. Joseph's sneering look, and biting raillery, were sufficient to prevent every physiognomist, every man of sagacity, from placing the least considence in him. His memory was strong: he had learnt abroad many bons mots, many sentences, many expressions, which he could introduce very patly upon occasion: he studied overnight what he should produce the next day, to appear a man of wit and learning: and, as a monarch, he had it always in his power to lead the conversation to any premeditated subject, on which he would excite admiration.

Every stranger, who knew him not, won-dered at the extent of his knowledge: but he who sisted him thoroughly, and sought substantial proofs, found it all superficial, and nothing but a chaos at bottom. On such occasions he would break off the conversation abruptly, to prevent a detection of his weakness. On this account all his projects were sure to fail: on this account his imitation of the great Frederic succeeded so badly, that he must

must inevitably be the jest of every man of understanding.

At first, before I well knew him, I travailed much, and did much for him.

He knew that I had some credit with the late landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and proposed to me to endeavour to get into his service general Schliessen, whom he wished to employ as a financier. My answer was:

"The landgrave was my benefactor when he was governor of Magdeburg: I cannot behave to him like an ungrateful scoundrel. Your majesty has not furnished me with credentials to his court, and I will not go thither as a spy and a kidnapper."

On my return from Berlin, he wanted to learn from me the names of the Brabantine and Hungarian deputies, who fought protection there. I told him that I knew nothing of the matter. He did not believe me; but he saw that I was no spy—no informer; and his looks told me what he thought.

In the Bavarian war, as I have already obferved, I was to raise a corps, and plunder my native country.

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This propofal I flatly rejected, and thus increased his suspicions. As I had accepted, and received for five years, a pension from the then king of Prussia, on every occasion he was ready to show me displeasure and contempt; so that I had determined to bid adieu to his dominions, had he not left this world.

My journey into Hungary in the year 1787, and the striking manner in which I was there received and respected, especially as he knew that I had millions to demand there, and found fo much esteem and distinction at Berlin, enhanced my danger from a prince, who was readier to punish than reward, and who thought no pure virtue could exist in the breast of a man that had been injured. Now, however, it is generally known, that I remained an honest man to both parties, and acted in a very ticklish situation with honour and esteem, regardless of my own advantage, and of my just revenge: and this is my reward.

Fond of spies and informers, Joseph was but the more deceived. He paid them well, to the cost of many an honest man. His intimates were mean contemptible persons; and MATE

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with these he would converse for hours. The celebrated Hundmichl, as he was called, a great thies, named Grossing, and some others of the like stamp, were his private newsmongers, whom he most graciously sudgelled for his amusement, and the moment after shook hands with amicably, and employed as his pimps.

his pimps. Studies and a suig won the I Enough! I have already faid more of the man than I wished. I could fill a volume with anecdotes scarcely credible, of which I know for a certainty the truth. Thefe I leave to his biographer, who, no more addicted to flattery than myfelf, has, from confequences, less to dread. God be praised, that he rests in his grave, and has left not fuch another ruler behind him! Me he repaid with the blackest ingratitude, fulfilling none of his promises to me, and for my children doing nothing. My rights he suffered to be invaded with impunity; and, by delufive pretences; robbed me of four and twenty years of my life, which most affuredly I could have employed more to my advantage in other countries. At least every honest writer is justified

in proclaiming the truth of departed tyrants; and biographers who flatter princes destitute of soul betray posterity. Joseph would have lost all his dominions had his life been prolonged. Had he possessed the talents and good fortune of Frederic, he would have spread slaughter and devastation far and wide.

I will now give a true picture of a court of justice at Vienna, as I promised, for which I have legal documents and proofs in my hands. Then every reader, who has a just suit to litigate, will assuredly start with abhorrence, and say, "Why didst thou live so "long in Austria, Trenck? Certainly it "was not a country for men like thee."

The judicium militare mixtum, confisting of military men and regimental judges, or justices, was my forum competens, my proper court, as I wore an uniform.

Prince Charles Lichtenstein, a man of probity and noble sentiments, was president; but he seldom sat on the bench. The humane, just, and sagacious general Faber, over whose head sourscore summers had now passed, was to preside in his absence. Unfortunately he was an invalid, so afflicted with the gout that the greater part of the year he was confined to his bed; of course he did not often make his appearance. After him the prefil dentship devolved on general baron Kæsporn, an honest man, unskilled however in the law, which he had not fludied, and unable to contend with the disputatious pettifoggers, by whom he was overpowered. A peaceable man, he fat quiet on the bench, and feldom contradicted what was faid: besides, he was the only foldier there, and had but one voice. The justices, as they are called, or pettifoggers, as they might more properly be termed, were Zetto von Kronfdorf, efq. counfellor of regency, and an auditor of the name of Demicher.

Zetto was speaker, and first referendary. He was notorious in Vienna, as the greatest rascal and perverter of justice, who boggled at no deed of iniquity, lavished all he could scrape together on strumpets, and less his wife and children in want. But he had a handsome daughter, who visited the emperors and through her interest he sat as referendary

on the feat of justice. Prince Lichtenstein too was an immoderate lover of the fair sex, and protected him for similar reasons: three times he paid his debts for him, and twice he saved him from the gallows, for the sake of his family. This bad man at that time governed the whole bench, as he was possessed of cunning, sluency of speech, and the practice of the courts, in the highest degree; and he would have been an excellent referendary, had he been capable of acting as an honest man.

Demscher had not wealth enough to support the prodigality of his domestic arrangements, and therefore availed himself of a fine daughter, whom Wetzlar the Jew had gotten with child and supported. His hate to me was unbounded; as, being a zealot, he fancied himself making an acceptable facrifice to God in persecuting me as a heretic. He was my referendary in a certain cause, laid his decision before the council, it was approved, and he privately substituted instead of it another totally different. When this made its appearance, having passed the supreme court, those who were present knew

it not to be that which had before been read. It was injurious to the honour both of me and my attorney Dorfner. It was obliged to be prefented to us. I cried aloud for justice, and my attorney demanded public reparation. This he obtained, as it was unavoidable; and Demscher asked his pardon. To me, however, none was given: and the fentence was put in force, to my great injury.

This very man now fits as a judge and referendary in the supreme military court. Heaven defend me from ever having to feek justice in it! salos and sold went tel all

To his place succeeded the counsellor of regency, baron Waldstætten. He was poor, and had in due form let his wife to baron Krechtler, the fon of a wealthy contractor, who kept the house, allowed the husband fixthousand florins a year for his private expences, and lived publicly with the baroness as his mistress. Krechtler died in less than two years, and left a fortune of more than two millions to the daughter, then three years old, whom he believed to be his own child, though

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though she bore the name of the reputed

Whether a man who so basely makes money of his wife be a fit person to occupy the seat of judgment; whether justice can be expected from one who lives without honour, and who has rendered his interested spirit so notorious, I leave to the decision of my reader, and particularly to him by whom judges are elected.

The secretary of this college, the son of a subtle counsellor at law, one Fillenbaum, esq. led the whole, and spoke more in the council than all the rest who were present; whilst Zetto and he played into each other's hands, as they traded in partnership, and shared all their booty. He was particularly protected by prince Lichtenstein, because his handsome wife had sormerly been the prince's mistress. Indeed Fillenbaum with much vanity showed his eldest son to every body, boasting that he was the child of the prince, who, as he declared, gave him a present of three hundred ducats at his christening.

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The knave Zetto laboured in concert with this artful pettifogger, and procured him the administration of the best estates; on which they battened together.

Thus by Zetto's direction Fillenbaum was appointed trustee in my case; and within two years he pocketed upwards of four thousand storins belonging to his trust, beside injuring it to three times that amount.

If Zetto had any report to make for me, it remained unnoticed till I had made Fillen-baum a present of a chest of Champaigne, or a purse of fifty ducats, to quicken Mr. Reporter: then the booty was divided in a brotherly manner.

How poor wards fared in the hands of fuch trustees, I will here explain.

Every year the trustee makes out his account, and delivers it to the council. A Zetto takes it to examine and report; confequently the trustee is always commended, and his account passed by the whole college.

I will give an instance known to all Vienna.

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The daughter of an officer, a handsome girl, was a ward of the court, with a fortune of eighteen or twenty thousand florins. The trustee concerted a plan with a vagabond, who gave himself out for a count, but was in reality a montenegrine banditto, and a detestable fellow. With the guardian's consent the marriage contract was drawn up, and a confiderable jointure fettled on the bride. She, with her worthy mother, was now fummoned b fore the court of Vienna. The respectable widow opposed the marriage, and, with all the eloquence of a parent, demanded protection for her only child.-The daughter did the fame, fell on her knees, and declared that she could not marry a man fo favage:-Nought availed; nought excited the commiseration of the judges. Zetto carried the business through, and the marriage was judicially decreed. The bridegroom received the capital from the hands of Zetto and the truffee, not without a confiderable deduction, no doubt, and speedily departed with his wife for Hungary. Here he lived three months, attended by his fellow banditti in fplendid liveries.

hiveries. At length, after having used his wife cruelly, he quitted the country, leaving her naked, pennyless, and with child.

The mother now repaired to Vienna, demanding pity, demanding justice. No heed being given to her complaints, she fled to the emperor. He, according to the Vienna custom, fent the case to be examined into by the very court in which the shameful deed had taken place. It may eafily be imagined what kind of a report was made on it, for their own justification, by those by whom it had been perpetrated. The monarch could not refuse credit to them, and all hope of compensation was frustrated. As if this had not been fufficient, the weeping mother was driven away by the officers of the court, as a frivolous and vexatious complainant, her petition was trodden under foot, and the unfortunate daughter lives now in the greatest mifery. I myself gave her an alms when the lay-in.

Nor was this all.—A thousand florins still remained due, which were not paid with the rest to the bridegroom, as they were not

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forthcoming. The deserted wise fell on her knees before the court, and prayed for this money for her support. The infamous guardian, however, protested that her baptismal register had been falsified, and that she was not of age. Zetto admitted it, and said that the money belonged to the child, not to the wise; and she received not a single farthing. This was the sentence of the very man, who did not say that she was a minor when he delivered her and her fortune into the hands of a sharper.

Thus fare wards in Vienna; and fimilar occurrences are by no means rare. What is worst of all, advocates or attorneys, who can purchase the protection of the judges, are always chosen for guardians and trustees. I knew one attorney who had forty-three wards, and regularly took his per-centage without cheating himself; not to mention that he well knew how to make out a bill of expences. Thus, too, the celebrated Zetto and Fillenbaum had a number of estates to administer: even I, in the sixtieth year of my age, sound myself obliged to

be their pupil, and to lie at the mercy of such knaves.

The other assistants in this judicio militari mixto, were a good old, but easy, counsellor of regency, and a submissive notary, whose pen was guided by Fillenbaum.

The following process I shall circumstantially relate, to open the eyes of the monarch himself, if he should peruse my narrative. The assa and probata are at Vienna in the hands of Mr. von Weyrauch, solicitor to the court, who conducted the cause for me with great credit, and actually gained it against the bench. Such a case is not to be paralleled in Vienna, and every honest man must shudder at it when told. I shall not conceal a single circumstance, as it will appear from the documents, if they be examined.

I lived at the time with my family in the free imperial town of Aix, and drew my penfion from the military cheft in Bruffels.

Thither I fent my quarterly acquittance, in order to receive the money, but had for answer, that my pension was stopped by the supreme military court at Vienna, on account

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of a bill of exchange of feven hundred florins, with one and twenty years' interest in arrear, which, having been cast, I had been condemned to pay.

Now I knew that I was indebted to no man upon earth; and I had never heard a fingle word of the law-fuit.—I knew Vienna: the affair appeared to me aftonishing: at the fame time it roused my sense of honour. Immediately I took post, and hastened to Vienna—a distance of 130 miles. Here I learnt that one Bussy, an attorney, an affistant of Zetto, had sued me for a bill of exchange of seven hundred florins, dated 1753, and payable to one Fleischmann, who was hung for swindling and forgery fifteen years ago.

The cause was formally conducted in the judicio militari mixto, and false post-marks from Aix were produced, so that I was regularly nonfuited, and condemned to pay the money. Zetto, the reporter on the occasion, was in concert with Bussy, had himself forged the bill, and always made false reports: hence a surreptitious sentence was by no means impossible to be obtained, and its confirmation.

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in the supreme military court was procured by similar means.

There was in Vienna no instance of such a sentence of both upper and lower courts being repealed.

I had no doubt about the matter; however, I demanded my note. This was refused me with insolence, under the pretext, that a copy of it had been sent me, that I had taken no notice of it, and that now a decision had been made.

Immediately I went to the emperor, complained aloud of an evident fraud, and requested a rule for a new trial. My charging, the supreme military court with a false judgment incensed him highly: but I afferted my right, and offered to prove it, on pain of being rendered publicly infamous. This put him to a stand; he granted me the rule, and wished me success.

I now fought a counsel: no one, however, would accept my brief, in a cause of injustice and forgery, against two courts of justice, for sear of making enemies. At length I found the honest court solicitor Weyrauch. He saw

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through.

through the business at once, perceived the conduct of Zetto, and undertook the cause. He appeared in court with the rule. Zetto stormed, abused him, threw the rule at him as an infult to the court, and endeavoured to frighten him, by threatening that he should be put in irons, and configned to a tipstaff, if he engaged in such a malicious cause and lost it. Weyrauch, nevertheless, continued firm; and demanded a day for the inspection of the note, and for producing it in open court.-Well aware that I had a wife and children at Aix-la-Chapelle, and of course could not remain long at Vienna, on account of the expence, this was put off for fix weeks; though in a case so urgent it ought to have been appointed within three days. At length the day was fixed. I appeared in person. Instead of the original, however, an authenticated copy from the register only was produced. In the course of the process it appeared from the records, that the registrar, being bribed, had actually given in a false copy. This was legally proved; but, when sentence was given, it remained unpunished.

My attorney now pressed for producing the original, according to law, to prove it a forgery. This should have been done immediately; but Zetto contrived to put it off for two months. The plaintiff now did not appear. Here was a fresh delay of six weeks. At length the original was brought forward.

On the first view of it, all the judges were at a stand. In three different places of the bill the sum and date had been erased, so as to leave holes in the paper.

The receipt of interest on it, in October 1754, was acknowledged at bottom in a different hand. A monk, a father confessor at Vienna, made oath, that he was present when I paid this: and my attorney proved, that I had been five months in prison at Magdeburg at the time when this receipt was given.—When the bill was held up to the light, it appeared clearly that it was a note of mine for one hundred storins, which had been changed into seven hundred. The sigure one was still distinguishable, and a seven was written over it. The proper date, too, was 1751, which agreed

agreed with the account-book of the office, then produced, in which it appeared that my note to Fleischmann for a hundred floring had been paid. All this was proved beyond difpute at the first sitting. Every one said the bill is forged, null, and not valid. Now began Zetto to hold forth with all his eloquence, and to maintain, that it was a matter of too much importance to accuse the judges of an error fo peremptorily. Buffy, previoully tutored by him, requested that he might be allowed to produce witnesses; and it was decreed that this weighty cause should be carried through in due form. By this Zetto hoped to gain time, knowing that I could not remain at Vienna, and imagining that he could foon get the better of my attorney by new frauds. that been two morning in wife

What was now to be done? I was obliged to give my attorney full powers to act for me, and return to Aix-la-Chapelle without feeing my cause finished, notwithstanding I had remained eight months at Vienna on account of it alone. Is not the infamy of the proceedings of this court sufficiently evident, when eight

eight months were thus wasted before the cause came to its first hearing?

It may not be improper, in this stage of the business, to give my reader a key to the whole affair. While the state of the smile

On my unfortunate journey to Dantzic, in the year 1754, I left my splendid equipage, and all my papers, with the regiment in Hungary. When I returned ten years after, I found only one of the lieutenants living. The colonel, the quarter-master, and all my comrades, were dead, or dismissed. What became of my equipage I could never learn, and I was told that my papers had been fent to Vienna to counsellor Huttner. He, however, professed to know nothing of them.-Urged by vexation, I left Austria, and lived fourteen years at Aix-la Chapelle, as I have related in the former part of my history.-Through accident, or fomething worfe, my papers must have fallen into the hands of, Zetto. Amongst them he found this note. for a hundred florins, which I had forgotten to cancel, made the alterations in it, took advantage of my absence, and employed Buffy, the attorney, as his coadjutor. Buffy kength

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was to sue for it; he had to report the cause, and conducted the whole villany, whilst the booty was shared between them. The documents prove all this clearly; and, on the failure of the scheme, Bussy was obliged to abscond, to save the credit of the college.

It is remarkable too, that when I was imprisoned at Magdeburg, it was in due form announced in the Gazette, that all who had demands on me should make their claims within two years, otherwise they would be deemed void. This bill of exchange, however, was not produced; of course, had it even not been a forgery, it would have been on this account null, and I was not liable to be sued for it. Certainly, too, the holder of it would not have waited so patiently for one and twenty years.

I being now absent, the cause was conducted scriptorily. In spite of all my attorney's
zeal, three years passed away: a thousand
subterfuges were devised to postpone the decision; whole reams of paper were written;
oaths evidently salse were admitted; and no
stone was lest unturned to weary me out. At
length

length Zetto came forwards, and reported that the cause was ready for decision, and that my complaint of injustice was frivolous.

General Faber, however, the president, was an honest man, and saw through the treachery. He directed therefore, that, as the monarch had represented this cause to him as peculiarly important, the papers should first be transmitted to all the judges respectively. Thus he gained time for me to hasten to Vienna, and counteract the malice of Zetto, for he was so generous as to acquaint me with my danger.

A fecond time, then, I posted to Vienna, and found the proofs alledged by my attorney Weyrauch so clear, that my success could not fail. My unexpected presence staggered the traitor. I did all I could to accelerate the business: and now Zetto postponed his report for four months.

At length the decision took place.

It was decreed, that I was not indebted to the plaintiff, because he had not made his claim during my arrest, conformably to notice given. Against this sentence, which in due course of law the judges should have pronounced at the first hearing of the plaintiff's demand, I protested in form, declaring, that I would not avail myself of this circumstance, but would pay the money, if it could be proved that I ever received it: and expressly requiring a sentence on the points of forgery and injustice, since both were asserted in my rule for a new trial.

I went to the monarch, and informed him of the procedure. He wished me luck in an honourable victory. The great Theresa also wished me success, and asked me what was a sit punishment for the forger Bussy, as the whole of the charge properly lay against him, suspicion alone attaching to Zetto. I answered, "that it belonged to the judges to "determine; not to me." Her majesty commended my moderation, and seemed to sympathise with me. That very day, however, my opponent sound protection through the means of a valet de chambre, and obtained the following decree.

"The appeal of the attorney Buffy, and "revifal of his cause, are granted by his mas" jesty; and, on account of his poverty, they "shall be free of all taxes and cost of suit."

Now the cause went on afresh. At a confiderable expence I was obliged again to return home without its being ended, and the matter continued pending fourteen months longer. I then came a third time to Vienna. Sentence was given. I gained my cause. The former fentence was annulled, and the stoppage of my pension was taken off, after it had been kept back for five years, without any one inquiring whether or no I had wherewithal to give bread to my children. Buffy, the attorney, absconded, and fled from Vienna; and this fuit for feven hundred florins*, which I gained, confumed for me, in costs and travelling expences, not less than four thousand guilders. + Thus are law-fuits carried on in the capital of Austria. talcalationing minutalposition as fluit

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^{† £ 450.} A guilder is the same as a florin.

Zetto was known, but not punished; and had my exertions been less indefatigable, or had I found myfelf less supported by honest people, I should certainly have lost both my money and my honour, in contending with two courts of justice, which I had incenfed against me. The cause, however, made much noise at Vienna. All the judges, whom I had thus openly difgraced, became my bitter enemies: and their successors continue so to this day; as there still remain some of the former, whom I brought to dishonour, and they are ashamed of having so mis-timedly held their tongues, and paffed over a fraud, fo evident, with their eyes open. I was styled a turbulent person, who had the hardiness to attack courts of justice in the lump; and Zetto retained his feat on the same bench for thirteen years after.

He fought revenge, however, and he found it. Through chicane he appointed me a trustee, and chose for the purpose the secretary Fillenbaum, his most faithful coadjutor in all such cases. In the end, this villain so plundered me, so ill-treated me, that any one, who

knew the whole, would wonder at my patience. I am known, thank God, in all Europe: judge, then, what my feelings were, when a fcoundrel, who deferved to be flogged at the cart's tail, and who actually died in the house of correction, had power to appoint a man like me a truftee, who was no better than himself; and to such an infamous proceeding the whole bench faid, Amen.

Soon after, the hail totally destroyed my crops twice. I could not discharge the imposts, as the law-fuit above mentioned had drained away all my cash, and I wanted six thousand florins to pay to the receiver.

Zetto and his conforts, Demscher in particular, decreed, that I arbitrarily diffipated the fortunes of my children; and the court directed my estates to be put into sequestration. Zetto was on the point of being named to administer them, when I found means to make good the payment at a loss of thirty per cent, and thus frustrated the villain's attempt to harafs me with unceasing chicane, and at length drive me from the country.

How fearful are thy judgments, O God, in STANCE

the courts of justice at Vienna! I was speaking in considence with the worthy lieutenant, sield-marshal Faber, who knew the sellow well; and he said to me with a sigh,—" My dear Trenck, I dare not speak. The em"peror will have it so. Tell him, however,
"to ask me with what knaves I am obliged to sit in council, and he shall hear the downright truth."

A similar answer I received from the warpresident, the honest field-marshal Haddick.

The vice-prefident, general count Caramelli, was my friend. I asked him, How he could sit silent on the bench at such gross misconduct, and approve the most iniquitous judgment against me? He answered, that he always spoke against me, and never in my behalf, lest he should be suspected of being my friend. Thus spake an Italian, whose belly was his only God, yet president in a court of justice.

Another such suit, in the same judicio militari, in which I was involved, I must here relate. It was known to every one in Vienna, yet no honest man had it in his power to mifigate it. I stated it, as it was publicly proved: and it could not be altered by the best of monarchs, the generous Leopold. As a stigma upon the administration of justice in Vienna, I will give it truly, according to the documents, and without reserve.

In the year 1787 I purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, in Lower Austria, for the sum of forty-seven thousand florins.

As my property had, by a firetch of power, been put into sequestration, to fetter me the more; and I was still under the jurisdiction of the judicii militaris mixti; Zetto managed matters fo, that the colleague he had chosen, one like himself, received orders to conclude the bargain as curator. At the first dash, the feller received fifty one thousand florins; confequently four thousand more than I had agreed. This was shared amongst them, and I was forced to hold my tongue; otherwife the purchase, of which I was extremely defirous, would have been fet aside. Beside this. I was obliged to remain at Vienna, at a great expence, on account of it; whilst Zetto and Fillenbaum Fillenbaum affailed my purse for fees, and every report was to be paid for.

It is the custom of Austria, that, when a lordship is sold, a few thousand guilders of the purchase money shall be kept back, as security to indemnify the buyer, if within two years any thing mentioned in the bill of sale should be found deficient. On this account three thousand storins were to be held as caution money in the purchase of Zwerbach.

Scarcely had I taken possession, when the steward found a kind of imposts entered in the tenantry book, the demand of which was prohibited by the sovereign. These amounted yearly to three hundred florins, equivalent to a capital of seven thousand sive hundred, which the seller had to make good to me.

I dispatched the tenants themselves to the directory of the circle, to try the cause with me there, and refuse payment of these imposts. Sentence was given that they should not pay me them. I now went to Vienna, took the steward with me, and appeared in the judicio militari mixto, with my attorney

Dorfner

Dorfner, preferring my fuit, and demanding to be indemnified by the feller.

The first duty of the judge, according to the law, was to direct the feller to give me a bond of indemnification, and to carry on the fuit with the tenants. We were suffered to withdraw, and Fillenbaum, as curator, received orders to draw up the case. He, through fear of having his conduct exposed by the feller, was afraid to act, and delayed the affair three years; on which account I was nonfuited, for having exceeded the term appointed by law, and brought too late. On this I haftened to Vienna, and appeared before the court, where Zetto was spokesman: advanced, that I had made my claim in this case, in due form, during the first year of the purchase, and demanded a circular letter to the regency, with an atteflation, that I had neglected nothing, and confequently could not be nonfuited. But, alas! the judges looked at Zetto, who flatly denied the commission, and faid, that I had never made my appearance on the business. The rest were filent, and I was difinisfed. yearly income from my tenantaming IOV

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My steward offered to make oath, that he actually, on the day alluded to, laid before them the particulars; and that Gorgan, the defendant's counsel, opposed him and me, and the attorney Dorsner, in full court, and even offered two thousand florins to compromise the affair. All this was fruitless. The judges permitted the files to be searched; but Fillenbaum and Zetto, who had the management of them, had stolen the record, and the whole commission was denied.

I hastened to my attorney Dorsner, who had been employed by me on the occasion, and desired him to attest it. To this demand he replied, "Dear Baron Trenck, I have in "my hands, it is true, proofs of this transaction; but God preserve me from venturing to affert the truth, in contradiction
to that revengeful court. I should make
enemies of all its members, and lose every
cause I might hereafter undertake, and
every suture curatorship." In this manner
is the sacred temple of justice profaned at
Vienna.

Thus I lost not only the three hundred flosins yearly income from my tenants, for which I had paid seven thousand five hundred florins, but was also obliged to pay the lady who sold the estate the three thousand florins caution-money, with interest and costs of suit, amounting to seven thousand florins ready money; and the decree was carried into execution without showing me the least favour; consequently the trust actually lost seven thousand five hundred florins, which the curator should have looked to, and for which he should have been answerable; yet through the protection of the bench, he escaped with impunity.

At length, however, Zetto was brought to punishment for other acts of injustice, and died in the house of correction, with the besom in his hand. Through him I shamefully lost at least fifteen thousand florins*; for twelve years I lay at his mercy: and all this would have been prevented, had the monarch inflicted on him due punishment, on occasion of the first law-suit, in which he impleaded me for the forged bill of exchange. Instead of this, the court selt itself offended, and reviled me

^{*} Near £. 1700.

as a disturber of the public mind, who calumniated the sacred colleges of justice; and I must have sunk under reiterated persecution, had I remained longer in Austria. Notwithstanding the bench can at present boast men of honour, the odium brought on it by me adheres to it still; and a couple of its officers, who were once unfortunately silent, and left the direction of affairs to Zetto and Fillenbaum, have reason to wish me eternally dumb.

Last year the scandalous business was wound up by the final act. The seller pursued her demand of payment regularly to an execution. On this occasion this court displayed the highest possible degree of animosity towards me. Every one knew that Zwerbach, sold as it was for sifty-one thousand slorins, cost me, including expences and entrance sees *, sixty thousand. It appeared, from the con-

^{*} From the expression here used in the original, it would appear, that a man cannot enjoy an estate he purchases, without paying the sovereign of the district for leave; as with us an honest tradesman, or skilful artificer, cannot earn his living in a corporate town, without buying his freedom. T.

cract duly registered in the court, that my effate was mortgaged for eighty thousand florins; yet, on account of the three thousand florins caution-money, its sequestration was decreed; and, notwithstanding my protest, commissioners proceeded to it with two carriages and extra post-horses, living well at my coft for fix days, and putting me to four hundred florins unnecessary expence, which my wife was obliged to pay down in ready money, wich feven thousand two hundred floring to the feller, who had so maliciously pursued me at law. This, however, is termed justice at Vienna. Twenty times at least have I been exposed to similar proceedings, and there was no help; but I must submit. I speak boldly, I write freely, and I hesitate not to name some of the privileged perverters of justice: thus the many are exasperated, and during fortythree years I have lived inceffantly contending against the villany of oppressive associations.

In the second and third volumes of this work I have related truly, and without referve, how and by what means I lost some millions, to which I had a just hereditary

claim, in the kingdom of Hungary; how and by whom I was plundered in Vienna, three times betrayed, and fold by the imperial minister at Dantzic. The censors resused me permission to print them; but the emperor Jeseph ordered, that whatever I could justify by documents and proofs should be published without restriction. This was done, yet not a single person demanded satisfaction of me: on the centrary, two gentlemen of the long robe thanked me, with the strongest assurance of their gratitude, for having spared them, and passed over their names in silence. Such are the sentiments, such the conduct, of the Vienna lawyers.

I am inclined to throw a veil over their shame; yet I most relate two occurrences, that injured me severely.

At Aix-la-Chapelle I had a fuit with the post-master, who had defrauded me. He appealed to the aulic council. Count Gravenitz had the reporting of the case; he was feed, and wrote to the post-master, that his cause was extremely suspicious, but he would delay his report till I was weary of the affair.

In this court business is conducted in the following manner. On account of the immense number of causes, they are divided amongst the counsellors. Each of them takes his week for reporting in rotation, consequently it comes to his turn to report once in thirteen weeks; and then it generally depends upon himself which he will bring forward, and which he will let stand over.

Now if a man have an unjust cause, or be in possession of another's property, he has only to pay the person who is to make the report a certain sum annually, as long as he engages not to bring it before the court, or to make interest to get an assurance from him to keep it in hand as long as he lives.

This is the true reason why a cause may continue pending in this court for one or two centuries, without coming to a decision. The heirs of a man who got possession of another's estate, have it in their power to pay better than those of him who was deprived of it: hence of justice there is little hope.

Gravenitz had in hand fuch an affair, which was notorious. He also entered into a con-

tract

tract to fell subjects of the empire to Spain, and thus became a dealer in human fleffr. On this account the emperor Joseph dismissed him from his post. He then attempted to fwindle count Theodore Bathiani, in Hungary; but was feized by him, and thrown into prison upon his estate. To Vienna he applied for affiftance, as an aulic counfellor; by which means he obtained his deliverance, with the favour of advice to quit the country. Thus honourably he paid a visit to Mecklenburg. There he published a libel against the preceding volumes of this work, and attemptedto justify himself. But the poor wretch is to be pitied: the shafts of his vengeance fell harmless. I mentioned him only because he had injured me to the amount of eleven thoufand florins, of which he deprived my children, probably for the paltry bribe of fifty ducats. If, however, there be any one who doubts what I have faid of him, let him write to Vienna, ask any attorney there why count Gravenitz was dismissed from the aulic council, and he will learn the truth of my account. His collague, count von der Lipp, who,

when

when Gravenitz had the turn to report, railed against me so basely, that I was obliged to reprimand him in court, has now sollowed him, and quitted the bench of justice, to the great satisfaction of many oppressed suitors. Thank God I still live! poorer indeed than I ought, but universally known and esteemed as a man of honour, and a marryr to the cause of truth.

Now let me give the last example of Vienna justice.

Four years ago, on my road to Paris, I accidentally became acquainted at Leipsic with one John James Semler, then a banker in that town. His apparent openness deceived me, and won my confidence. Almost immediately on my arrival at Berlin, he sent me bills of exchange to the amount of twelve thousand livres *, payable in three months at Paris, which he begged me to accept, saying that he was much straitened for eash, and could discount these on the credit of my name, at the same time assuring me, that, on my passing through Leipsic, he would give me the money to take them up in Paris when

STATE OF

they should become due. Out of friendship to the man I accepted the bills. On my arrival at Leipfic, he had not the money: he could only give me two hundred dollars in specie, and his own drafts, payable in three months at Augsburg, for two thousand five hundred florins; but he declared that he only negotiated as many of the bills with my acceptances as amounted to three thousand florins, and would deliver me the others on my return. I did not know what to do with his Augsburg bills, which were not even accepted; however, he told me that any man in Strasburg would cash them on my credit, and thus I might take up mine in Paris. In consequence, I got these bills discounted by Meffrs. Herman and Gebhardt, bankers at Frankfort, and Messrs. Franck and Dietrich at Strafburg, making myself answerable for their payment, and losing the three months interest on them.

Almost immediately after my arrival in Paris, the bills that I had accepted for Semler at Berlin were presented for payment, and I discharged that. These amounting to more than the money I had received from Semler,

and his bills which I had negotiated, he still remained my debtor. The bills on Augsburg were duly honoured, except one for four hundred florins, which was protested, and sent back to Frankfort; and I was obliged to advance the money in Paris, with fixty florins charges, till Semler was able to repay me.

He now wrote to me again, in the most piteous manner, intreating me to accept for him bills for feven thousand livres, and afterwards for twelve thousand more, payable in two months in Paris, promifing me, in the most folemn manner, to remit the money before they became due. I fuffered myfelf to be prevailed on, and complied with his requests. Alvons only vonders the language

The day of payment approached: no money came. I took up the bills, however, and drew on him for two hundred louis-d'or. in favour of Mr. von Cetto. This draft being honoured, I was encouraged to go on accepting bills, and paying them; till at last, my draft on him for two hundred louis-d'or, to Messrs. Sartorius and company, was returned protested, in a disgraceful manner; the ballisadi

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reason -

reason assigned by him being, that he had no cash of mine in his hand. At the same time I received from him a letter, in which he complained of his necessities, and excused himself for suffering my bill to be protested, on the ground of his having no other means to prevent his being arrested, according to the custom of Leipsic. This letter was accompanied with bills on Augsburg for three thousand florins, at three months, to support him by my credit.

These bills no one would take. In Augsburg, Semler had neither property nor credit; and from Leipsic I was cautioned against his being about to become a bankrupt. I was already three thousand florins in advance, had not received the remittance which he had so solemnly promised, and was forced therefore to protest the last bills at Paris, and return them.

Quitting the metropolis of France, I repaired to Vienna, where I found Semler,
who had now run away from Leipsic. He
had the impudence to call on me, and to
deny the favours he had received; for which

I thrashed

I thrashed him out of doors, as I would any other knave. Business calling me into Hungary, he curried favour with my counsel, and took care to grease his fist.

In my absence they boldly got two strange Saxon merchants to sue me for letters of exchange drawn by Semler, that I had accepted, but returned, and would have paid with Semler's bills.

My counsel treacherously avoided producing Semler's letters and original bills, and I, being nonsuited, was condemned to pay two thousand sour hundred storins to public cheats. Immediately notice was given to my farmer, with stoppage of my rents: and Semler gave him three hundred florins to say that he had already paid the money to him, that it might not be in my power to have recourse to justice asresh, and any surther investigation of the affair might be too late. The business was actually sinished before I returned from Hungary; when nobody listened to me, the cause was decided, and my money was lost without resource.

In this manner holders of bills in Austria proceed

proceed against a landed member of the states. I could not run away with my estates, of course there was no danger in delay: the sentence, however, was put into execution; I must pay; and my only remedy lay against a foreign vagabond, from whom I had nothing to hope.

I was not once permitted to inspect the bills for which I was sued, in order to recognise them; of course they may possibly have been forged. I offered to deposit bills of Semler's for three thousand florins to answer them, but they were not accepted.

Nay more. If a man, having a wife and eight children to maintain, actually becomes a bankrupt, only half or a third of his income is sequestered. From me, on the contrary, the whole was taken, notwithstanding my wise had two years before been put in legal possession of my estates by myself, and confirmed in it by the proper court. Such a proceeding surely proves that I was pursued by rancour and injustice.

Through the dishonest actions I have related, I and my family were brought to experience perience want, whilst impostors, lawyers, and knaves were enriched, and there was no door open to redrefs. Were I now to prove that I was never indebted to Semler a fingle groat, but that he had swindled me out of five thousand florins at least, the judges at Vienna most undoubtedly would not repay me one farthing of that money, with which they suffered a vagabond to go off without giving the least security. To whom shall I now prefer my complaint? The money is gone out of the country. I am inclined to think that I merited from the courts of justice at Vienna so much regard at least, as to have had the money stopped, till Semler had paid the bills I had in my hands.

In the mean time the ungrateful rascal, whom with a true German heart I had affisted, laughed in his sleeve, and praised the speedy justice of Vienna to a Saxon cheat, who knew how to manage affairs in its courts. But woe betide him if ever he falls in my way! I will at least compel him to confess by what iniquitous means he defrauded me of my money

money at Vienna, and who fuffered themfelves to be corrupted by him.

I will venture to declare, upon my honour, to the emperor, and to the whole world, that for fix-and-twenty years I have not enjoyed a fingle penny of my penfion, or of the income of my property: all has been fwallowed up by law-fuits, chicane, and injustice. This certainly justifies me in declaring the truth to the whole world; and I have chosen an abode where I can utter it without the least circumlocution. Forty years and upwards of my life I have sacrificed in Austria, and have maintained myself and family by the employment of my pen, by the exercise of my talents. Ingratitude has been my reward: contempt has been my revenge.

Affuredly I was destined from eternity to be a stranger to quiet on earth; even the last scenes of my life, therefore, cannot be peaceful. From the track I have chosen I will not deviate to obtain it; and, proud of this noble and firm resolution, I dare brave all dangers, all persecutions.

When Joseph swayed the sceptre, my path.

V MOLL

was highly perilous, and the part I performed required a master. Suffice it, that for him I laboured much, I did much: for me he did nothing; he promised great things, indeed, but he kept not his promises. No reason have I to lament his death. Leopold ascended the throne, and a new era of my history followed. Never were my prospects so favourable, so brilliant; never was I engaged in more arduous enterprizes, and exposed to greater dangers; never more grievous to me was the termination of events, than in this

NEW SCENE.

Scarcely was the brow of Leopold encircled by the Roman diadem, when I hastened to his presence. At my first audience of him he took me by the hand, and said,

"My dear Trenck, I am happy to find "you still alive. Your history has affected "me much; and it is a disgrace to Vienna "that it was made public."—I said what at such a favourable opportunity a man of my stamp would say. Never had I heard such open-hearted expressions, such tokens of the

Samuel !

noble

noble fentiments, iffue from the mouth of a monarch.-My whole foul was roused from that hatred of princes, which it had embraced, not without fufficient motives: my love, my confidence for Leopold swelled with enthusiasm: flattering hopes of justice arose; and I refolved to spend my last days in his service.

Two or three times a week at least I went to him, without ever being fent away; found myfelf treated with confidence and esteem; was confulted on the most important subjects; and received fo many commissions for various employments of my pen, that I often wrote for him all night, and carried him the next day what he did not expect to have been finished in a week. My zeal in his fervice pleafed, and he promifed me all that an honest, injured man, hitherto kept unemployed, could expect from a just, fagacious, and benevolent monarch.

All the leeches of the state, and blood-suckers of the people, the swarms of juridical and court drones, who are accustomed to oppress the labouring bees, were alarmed, foreboding no good to themselves, when such an one as I found free access to a good prince. Ca-

balling

balling now began, since Trenck was so frequently seen at court. The spies of foreign powers, too, who wished no dawn of reason to illumine the horison of Vienna, were attentive. The convention of Reichenbach sollowed; and, as I shall relate more sully below, certain people of Berlin availed themselves of the opportunity to depict me to the worthiest of peaceful kings, in colours far different from the true. From that period all united to watch my steps, and lay pitfalls in my way.

In a conversation with the emperor, on the situation of his dominions at that time, when a general sermentation had taken place, he said to me:—"Trenck, I know you have "many friends in Hungary, and are ac-

- " quainted with all the malcontents, as you
- "have yourself reason to be discontented:
- "What if you were to go to Buda, at the
- " approaching affembly of the diet, as a pri-
- "vate person, employ your pen, and exert
- " your talents for me?"

To do this I was ready with pleasure; but requested permission to lay all my manuscripts before his majesty, for his opinion, before they were published; as I am accustomed to utter the plain truth, and had sufficient reason to expect, that enough would be ready to ascribe to me intentions which I did not entertain. This was granted me with the most generous assurances of protection.

The first piece I published was Trenck's first Letter to all bonest Hungarians.

It is too long to infert here, and I shall reprint it in my monthly publications. I may observe, however, that it produced an astonishing effect at the diet, and is the more remarkable for having the approbation of a monarch, though written against despotism.

I carried the manuscript to the emperor. In a sew days he returned it to me, and said: "Thus should all honest men write. Make "haste to Buda, and get it printed as fast "as possible. This is just the proper time "for it."

I asked,—" Has your majesty affixed an "imprimatur to it?"—He hesitated and answered,—" The press licence is now so free, "that furely no objection can be made to such "a patriotic paper."—" Certainly:" was my reply."

reply. But the inspector gives all my writings to the council of state. This will be communicated to the Hungarian chancellery, and neither will permit me to interfere in a business of such importance. The emperor then ordered me to give the manuscript myfelf to baron von Switen, president of the infpectors, and tell him that I was fent by his majesty. This I did. I waited a fortnight for the determination. Nothing was done. This fingular conduct I mentioned to the emperor. He told me to wait with patience. On the twenty-third day my manuscript was returned, with a non admittitur, - " not per-" mitted." One whole page had been filled with remarks and interlineations, which were carefully erased: a proof that I had not been mistaken. This occurrence taught me too, that I had a powerful enemy in the council of ftate, who would endeavour to ruin all my credit with the emperor.

He was aftonished when I pointed out and explained to him the fortuitous conduct I had experienced; and asked me whether I could not print it without the licence. How wel-

come to me was this question from my so-vereign! I joyfully answered, "Yes;" after which I had a long and serious conference with him. That very day I departed for Buda, gave my manuscript to the printer, and the fourth day after my arrival the letter was in every bookseller's shop. Its style was forcible, and I was universally commended. I was overwhelmed with praise. My conversation did not bely my letter. In it I maintained the same principles, backing them by the most powerful arguments.

The bishops now first began to take the field against me. In the diet they had made the grand motions:—Hungary has no need of a king of the house of Austria; Joseph never fulfilled his duties as king of Hungary. He never permitted himself to be crowned; he trod under foot the fundamental laws of the realm, and consequently broke through his engagements. He should therefore be struck out of the list of kings. His conduct has annulled the compact, and right of succession: of course, Leopold has no hereditary claim to the crown, and the right of a free election again reverts to the people.—On this

all exclaimed: "We will have a priestly go"vernment, as in the time of Moses and St.
"Stephen." They who were of the same
party as myself smiled, but were in the end
triumphant.

The bishop of Erlan, the most dangerous man in the kingdom, who, with a wicked fanatical heart, possessed an income of three hundred thousand florins a year *, and had brought with him in his private coffer a hundred thousand ducats for the purposes of bribery and corruption, was the soul of this plot. He had before published a book, in which it was maintained, that Hungary would never prosper under the house of Austria.

He, the cardinal, and other bishops like himself, had dispersed gratis throughout the country several thousand copies of this work; and the magistrates of the city actually licensed it, and permitted its sale.

In this posture of affairs I arrived at Buda, and effected wonders. Within a fortnight I had brought the whole system of the priest-hood completely to the ground.

Taught by the arguments I laid before them, the magnates, who were justly distatisfied with the ordinances of Joseph, altered their opinions, and assumed considence in Leopold, whom I described to them as a gentle, noble-minded prince, far from despotic, and a friend to the national liberties of Hungary. This was particularly strengthened, by my assiming, on my honour, that the emperor had read in manuscript, and approved, my Letter and The Priest Unmasked, in which it was maintained, that the freedom of the Hungarians should not be violated by the exertion of arbitrary power.

I now brought forward a pamphlet, which exasperated the swarm of priests so highly, that I had the whole hive about my ears; and assuredly I should have completed its destruction, had the emperor lest my hands at full liberty. It is too remarkable not to deserve a place here; I shall subjoin it therefore at the end of the volume *.

This

^{*} As this bitter philippic against the priesthood, entitled, "The Balance of Power between the Prince and the

This was followed by a supplement, too long to be inserted here. Both these I translated into Latin, and a friend of mine into the Hungarian language: thus twelve thousand copies were put into the hands of the people, and met with general approbation. To follow up the stroke, and not suffer the impression I had made to wear out, I immediately printed

-woll . The Priests Unmasked,

which I distributed publicly, and sent to all the booksellers for sale; steps which it was a no one's power to prevent. The monks vomited their gall and venom against me, but in vain; the deadly blow was given, and they, who had hitherto been worshipped as demi-gods throughout Hungary, and had led the voice of the diet according to their pleas

the Clergy," is particularly applicable to ecclefiaftics of the church of Rome, and their conduct in Hungary; whilst no one part of it could apply to the members of our established church, all of whom, to a man, are sworn foes to intolerance, and zealous promoters of peace and quiet, and brotherly love;—we presume our readers will pardon us for not translating it. To

VOL. III.

themselves despised. The protestants began to lift up their heads, spoke boldly, and found no opposition. For myself I had poniard or poison to sear every moment, yet boldly braved every peril. Several anonymous letters I received, warning me not to accept invitations to the tables of such magnates, from whom there was reason to apprehend attempts on my life. I went, however, undaunted; but took care to be on my guard. No one had courage to execute such a deed, as I had so many partisans, that it must have been followed by a fearful vengeance.

At the table of count C***, indeed, the attempt was actually made; but frustrated by the caution of my trusty and well-informed servant, to whom at the side-board they would postively fill out of a particular bottle of wine.

On the bridge of boats, too, where I purposely walked every evening, to show that I seared nothing, assassins were planted, to throw me into the Danube. Had it been done, a report would have been spread that I had slung myself in from contrition or despair.

despair. But they were afraid to attack me. Indeed I was always well armed, and took care to have friends at hand.

One count Amadé, a fanatic, who was in the pay of the bishop of Erlau, took the liberty to cavil with me.—I met with him in respectable company, otherwise he should have felt that cudgel with which I was always prepared for him and his consorts; as swords and pistols are unknown to such gentlemen in Hungary. He was very quiet, however, and no one ventured openly to insult me.

At length the matter was wrought to such a pitch, that the pandours came to me, and offered me their assistance, if I wished to throw all the bishops in the diet out of the window. I preached peace, patience, and quietness, and hastened post to Vienna, to receive further orders from the monarch.

Immediately on my arrival I had a pri-

"Trenck, there are complaints of you al"ready made to me, but I am not irritated
"against you. You go too violently to
"work: you throw your stick at the birds.

discrality

"You are in extreme danger.—It is posi"tively required that I should recall you
"from Hungary, and cannot publicly afford
"you protection. You are not ignorant of
"clerical vengeance."

I asked him:—" Is your majesty dis"pleased with my writings or conduct in
"Hungary?"—" No:" was the answer.
"On the contrary, I am indebted to you for
"them; but I dare not protect you."—" If
"so, I sear nothing," replied I, "and I will
"cheerfully return."—" Only be more moderate, be more cautious:" were his last
words.

Again I hastened to Buda, and wrote in all thirteen pamphlets, during the sitting of the diet. The monks applied to the supreme military court, in which they found a way to make friends. The general commandant Barco, who had formerly served as captain with me in the regiment of Cordova cuirassiers, sent for me, and said that he had received commands from the above-mentioned court, to advise me, as a friend, not to write any more in Hungary. My answer was literally:

literally: "An honourable counsellor of the military court knows, that the uniform of a soldier does not write. In Hungary I write as a citizen, as a philosopher, as Trenck; who has in view the recovery of some millions of property for his children: and in this character I acknowledge no superior, except God, the privileges of Hungary, and myduty."

This answer was satisfactory.

Now breathing revenge and fury, the clergy applied to the artful cardinal Migazzi at Vienna. He procured, from the inspectors of the press, the condemnation of my writings respecting the affairs of Hungary, to be confiscated and burnt; and he had the madness to prescribe laws to the Hungarian nation, without knowing the privileges of the diet.

The matter was at present so managed, that the town-council took the inconsiderate step of permitting the publication of a rescript, under the name of the emperor, to the general-commandant, enjoining, that I should be ordered to cease writing, and suppress, or deliver to him, all the remaining copies of my pamphlets.

To

To this I answered in print, "that I alone knew why I published the truth in Hungary. It was false that the emperor had issued, or could issue, such an injunction. That no man had a right to forbid the protestants to undertake their desence at the diet; and I would boldly engage their enemies at their head.

"That the town-council and press-licensing office of Buda had permitted the printing of two infamous books against the monarch, which maintained, that Hungary would never flourish under the government of an Austrian prince. Of these books, which I named, the bishops had spread abroad several thousand copies, to excite a revolt against the emperor."

To this I added, "that I would never submit my writings to a magistracy that allowed such publications, or to inspectors of the press who licensed and promoted their sale; and despised their commands. However, as through the power they had in their hands they had disgraced the laws of the diet of Hungary, and had forbidden their booksellers and townsmen to vend works bearing the

name

name of Trenck, I gave notice, that thenceforward they should be publicly distributed, and sold at my house by my servants."

This was actually done, and persevered in to the end of the diet, without any molestation, as my resources were dreaded.

At length, on the 17th of November, 1790, the coronation took place at Presburg. I was present, and all Hungary saw me admitted to a private audience of the sovereign, the day before the coronation. It was evident, therefore, that neither my writings nor my conduct had brought me into disgrace. I wrote on this occasion a coronation ode, in which I expressed the ardour of my feelings, and the happy prospects I formed for Hungary from the government of Leopold.

On the day of the coronation, cardinal count Bathiany gave a grand entertainment, with fire-works and a ball, in all imaginable splendour. The whole court was present. I was rash enough to be there, and, with some respectable friends, to distribute to all the bishops and magnates, in presence of the monarch, a prayer I had composed on the

principles

principles of the episcopal oath*. The cardinal himself received a copy. A bolder step is not easy to be conceived. I did not quit the company till it broke up. The gang of monks viewed me with a fanatic scowl; the majority gave me smiles of approbation; and the monarch himself spoke a few words to me in a friendly manner. This enraged them the more.

Thus crowned with fame and honour, did I arrive at the termination of this remarkable diet, at which the reprobated claims of the worthy king Leopold were triumphant, and the protestants obtained privileges which they could never have expected in Hungary. I ventured to break the ice. My reputation of having laboured for the general weal alone will never be destroyed in Hungary; but

^{*} The catholic bishops of Hungary take a peculiar oath, to which, if they be true, they must at all times be ready to sacrifice their king, their country, and the rights and liberties of their fellow-citizens to the arbitrary dictates of a foreign potentate, and to trample on the laws at the will of the pope.

whilft the interest of the ecclesiaftics accords with the overweening spirit of the nobility, who want neither power nor inclination to treat all other classes of men as slaves, they will most assuredly remain my implacable enemies, as I first lighted the torch that difplayed to the whole kingdom their defigns, to which the fovereign oppofes every possible obstacle, identify to make it idly M. . entet

At this diet I might unquestionably have obtained the restoration of the large estates I had loft in Hungary, producing an annual income of two hundred and seventy thousand florins*, would I have joined the party of the nobles and priefts, written in their behalf, and exerted myfelf against the king and the protestants. But I was firm in the cause of Leopold and the public, regarded not my own private interest, and abode true to my character of prefering the dictates of rectitude to every other confideration. The subsequent part of this narrative will show, that I went Acd, and had follower welch to adultar my-

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unrewarded, and lost by my probity all I might have gained by a different conduct. The emperor himself was so circumstanced, that he could not openly protect me, and death took him off before he could effectuate his promises. Thus does fate sport with those who rely on man, and seek fortune through virtue and the suffillment of the social duties. My lot is that of all reformers, and in the grave I shall be deaf to the grateful thanks and blessings of posterity.

I now left Hungary, and returned to Vienna, where I employed myself in various other writings for the emperor, possessed his considence, and was promised by him, that, at the next diet and the distribution of the royal revenue in the Bannat, I should be repaid all that the treasury had actually received in ready money from the sale of the Trenck estates. The sum indeed would not have amounted to two hundred thousand florins: but with it I should readily have been satisfied, and had sufficient reason to consider myself secure of receiving this at least.

the based out

As to what farther concerned the possession of my Sclavonian estates, I was free to commence a suit with the holders of them, and carry it on according to the laws of the country.

More than this permission I never desired from the court, which had already annulled the arbitrary decree of Theresa, so injurious to me and my children, and the disgraceful act of her chancellor of the exchequer.

I now quietly awaited a better fate, and my reward from a just emperor, who was thoroughly acquainted with me, and with my sentiments, and had received proofs of my capability of serving him, though my locks were silvered with age.

For a time I remained at peace in the midst of my family at Zwerbach, though I too plainly perceived, that the fanatics in the courts at Vienna ceased not to persecute me as a heretic, and watched every occasion to hunt me to death, or to banish me from court, that I might not have it in my power to disclose to the monarch their iniquitous proceedings. Neither was attention wanting

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fearched

in the council of state, where, as in all courts of justice, self-interest is ever on the watch against men, who see things as they are, and speak of them before the throne with freedom. They knew, too, the weak side of Leopold, and let slip no savourable opportunity.

In June 1791 I went to Buda, to fettle with the bookfellers, and to purchase some wine. I remained there only ten days, during which I took up my abode on the castle-hill, at the house of the keeper of the archives, von Kowarczitsch, a learned antiquarian, esteemed for his probity by the whole nation. Immediately the hatred of the monks attacked this blameless man; enemies were stirred up against him; and a report was propagated, that I had prevailed on him to fearch the archives for the family writings of Trenck. Had this been done, it would have been no more than justice: but, to the disgrace of the law of the exchequer in Hungary, I must here make known, that the keeper of the archives is fworn to keep fecret all documents relative to family rights, and capable of being detrimental to the treasury. They can only be fearched fearched by order of a judge of the court, and the report can be delivered only to him. In the way of all private individuals who make this equitable demand every obstacle is to be thrown, and the keeper must deny every thing he can. It is to be observed too, in my case, that the chancellor of the exchequer, count Grassalkowitz, who was omnipotent in the time of Theresa, and who deprived me of all my estates in contempt of the fundamental laws of Hungary, withdrew from the archives every thing that could injure his heirs and friends, or betray his villanies, whereby he had reduced many families to poverty.

The true history of the business was as follows. I learnt there, not from Kowarczitsch God knows, but from a friend in the town-council, that the emperor had sent a private order, to search the archives for all papers relative to the Trenck estates, and remit them into his own hands. This proves his good intention, for he had promised to repay me what the treasury had received from the sale of them, as he would not suffer it to be contaminated with ill-gotten gold. Unquestionably

* 1. 18 - K.

of this, and employed every possible artifice to prevent his ejection, as he must imagine that the emperor would never confirm proceedings contrary to the laws of Hungary.

Thus, ignorant of the fource of my intelligence, they suspected the worthy keeper of the archives, who kept in the profoundest secres from me the emperor's commands. The bishops reported besides, that I had made him a convert to the detestable doctrines of Luther.

How the affair terminated I have never been able to discover. Thus much, however, I know,—the emperor actually received the documents; they were by him delivered to be examined, and reported, to the Hungarian chancery at Vienna; which purposely gave the commission to the vice-president, count Maillat. The count is the stepsather of baron Schandor, the very person that has in possession two of my chief lordships, avital estates, of which I could never have been deprived according to law, and producing him a yearly income of seventy thousand storins*. The report he

made may easily be conjectured, since nothing arose from it to my benefit. What follows evidently indicates the trick played on the occasion.

An unmarried brother of Schandor, and possessor of half these estates, had been eighteen years in the gaol of Rufstein, where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, for having first ravished and afterwards poisoned two fifters, and committed other murders, If he died in prison, his possessions, he having no children, would escheat to the crown. By the laws of Hungary, I, as original owner, should have had a prior claim. As soon as the emperor demanded the Trenck papers from the archives, his powerful relations forefaw the confequences, and procured a pardon for the murderer. Immediately on this he married, and obtained the protection of the nobles; -confequently my expectation was frustrated. This is the course of affairs on our earth, which is, notwithstanding, the best of all possible worlds.

Having finished my business, I returned with speed to Vienna. Here, however, I must

must introduce a circumstance connected with what sollows, and a specimen of priestly malice.

At Buda I dined with general von Barco, then commandant at that place, and who had been formerly my comrade as captain of horse in the regiment of Cordova. He is well known to be a felfish man, and a friend of the bishop of Erlan, who spares no money to attain the accomplishment of his fanatical purposes. After dinner he gave me an invitation for the next day. I excused myself, however, as I was obliged to go to Fuered, to receive fome money from a Mr. von Mariafy, who was using the waters there for his health. Returning home, however, I met Mr. von Mariafy on his way to Pest; and of course my journey to Fuered did not take place. Three days after I called on the general. He faid to me,-" What are you returned already?" I answered, "I have not been, as I found " my friend here." Barco appeared furprised, and disturbed. I observed it, but knew not the reason. This I afterwards learnt.

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Mariafy

Mariafy was a thorn in the bishop's side, and at this very time there was a meeting of several powerful nobles at the baths of Fuered, who, as I was afterwards informed, entered into a design to diminish the immense incomes of the bishops; with which they actually concerted the strengthening the hands of the monarch, to relieve the oppressed citizens and peasants, and reduce the power of the nobility.

This step sailed not to set in motion the omnipotent priesthood. Barco was vigilant for them, and artfully conveyed information to the emperor, that the purposes of this meeting were inimical to his interests; at the same time mentioning me as a party concerned, whilst he supposed me to be there.

In the mean time I pursued my journey to Vienna, and thence to Zwerbach; but in the beginning of September received a summons from count Tige, acting-president of the military court, to appear before it in person. Scarcely had I entered, when he ordered me, in a dry authoritative style, to sign the fol-

lowing ridiculous bond, by the express command of the emperor.

Bond, literally copied.

Whereas the annual pension I have enjoyed from your majesty's favour has been infufficient to supply the wants of my numerous family, and I have hitherto been under the necessity of augmenting my income by the employment of my pen: and whereas your majesty is now most graciously pleased to augment my pension to the sum of fifteen hundred florins a year*, and to promise a pension to my wife, if she should survive me. In acknowledgment of this great indulgence shown to me and my family, as well as in conformity to the internal consciousness that my former mode of gaining a livelihood by my pen is degrading; first, to the character of an officer conferred by your most gracious favour; secondly, to that of a man of probity; I do voluntarily bind myself, after mature deliberation, by my word as an officer, and under forfeiture of my honour, fully and

wholly to renounce every branch of authorship, particularly whatever relates to public affairs, either in this country or any other, by no means to carry it on by myself or others, or to give any instructions in this respect to other persons, and faithfully to deliver up to his excellency count von Tige, general of cavalry, all effays, memorandums, or papers, now in my hands, that have the remotest reference thereto; to remain as long as I live in the dominions of his Imperial majefty; to conduct myself peaceably; and to take care that my family do the same; and that in such a manner I, and, in case of my decease, my furviving spouse, render ourselves, according to the utmost of our power, worthy and deferving of that most gracious favour which we may hope for. It was to form and of

"In confirmation of these presents, I have subscribed my name to this instrument, and sealed it with my seal, in the presence of his excellency count Tige, general of cavalry, with the free assent, and of my own voluntary choice. Vienna, the 11th of August, 1791.

(L.S.) Frederic baron von der Trenck."

The reader may guess what answer I made the general, standing on the seat of judgment before me, after I had read this base instrument.

I was threatened, however, with the caftle, if I made the least hesitation. I took up
the pen, therefore, and wrote my name; at
the same time declaring, that I would demand my dismission, as I would not facrifice
my honour, my liberty, and my love of letters, for any treasure upon earth, much less
for a pension, which I here most freely renounced. Appealing to the emperor, I departed as a man most grossly injured, and
the next day went to court.

I must here anticipate a little my story, to relate the substance of what I said at large to the council of war in a decisive tone, and the true Trenck style, when I demanded back my bond, into which I had been forced to enter against my will. It was nearly as follows:—

[&]quot;I never can, or will believe, that the de-"grading expressions, and the requisition "contained in that instrument, could accord "with

with the commands of a monarch, who is " the tutelary deity of science, who read and " approved in manuscript, before it was print-" ed, what I wrote on the affairs of Hun-" gary, and for whom I had freely encoun-" tered a thousand perils. Can it possibly be " unbecoming a foldier to rank in the learn-" ed world, as I have done? My pen has " procured me approbation and celebrity "throughout Europe, an honour that I would " not exchange for the title of a field-mar-i " shal. What I have gained by my own " talents will remain eternally mine. Ti-"tles are feldom the rewards of merit or " good conduct. None then but an enemy " to truth, virtue, and fcience, none but forme, " ignorant member of the military court, " could have drawn up fuch a fcandalous " and injurious instrument. The style and " orthography sufficiently denote the author. "I was convinced that my enemies had con-" structed it as a pit-fall for me, as the event " completely proved; for on my vifiting: " Hungary, ten days after I had figned it, I " was immediately arrested, on pretext of having broken it, though in it is expressly head " faid

"faid that I would not travel out of the "emperor's hereditary dominions without permission."

Thus the difgrace must fall only on my enemies. I demanded the bond; for to keep it was totally against my will; and out of the Austrian territories I could frequently get more in a week by my pen than the whole yearly amount of my pension. My zeal, too, for ferving the house of Austria, was cooled, by having laboured three and forty years in vain, still hoping reward that I never received. That the future would be as the past I had reason to conclude, since my enemies at Vienna were too powerful to admit other expectations; and my own maintenance, and my duties as a parent, demanded from me a manly refolve. I would repair therefore to the monarch, to obtain an explanation of this proceeding, for which I could not account; or to folicit my discharge, as I wished now to feek quiet in my old age, and withdraw myself altogether from the lists. But, alas! all remained unanswered. The new wagenut?

I went immediately to the emperor, and found him in a serious mood. His paternal heart

heart was affected at my tale; for I spoke as an injured man in my situation had a right to speak. He was particularly astonished when I recited to him the disgraceful contents of the instrument; still more, when he heard the threats of general Tige, by which I was compelled to sign it; and assured me, that he had never ordered such a procedure, or such expressions.

On my now reminding him of his promise; on my exposing to him, that I had done nothing without his consent, and had written for his interests alone, to the sacrifice of my own; and adding, that the bond-I was constrained to enter into srustrated all my purposes, and announced to me his majesty's displeasure and contempt; with a mild look he answered me in the following remarkable terms:

"Yes, my dear Trenck, all that you did
"and wrote last year in Hungary is com"mendable, merits a reward, and I will not
"forget it. I told you, however, that you
"should not make me a party in the affair,
"for I could not protect you, and you must
"extricate yourself from the snare. But

"in your last journey in July you acted a part very different from the former; as the grand rendezvous with my bitterest enemies at Fuered, where you were the active person, is well known to me; as this meeting, so dangerous to me and my people, came to my knowledge through such persons, nay, through the town-council and the general commandant. I have already dismissed one Lany and one Kowaczitsch from their places, and commanded them to write no more in Hungary."

How was I surprised at this information! Never in my whole life had I been at Fuered; my conscience was clear; I saw instantly that it was a stroke of monkish rancour, which, by means of bribery, artistice, or fanaticism, had incited general Barco to this salse denunciation.

I answered, therefore, in a firm tone:—
"Sire, you are deceived; my actions speak
"for me; I never was at Fuered; the in"formation is a trick of the clergy, to ren"der me suspected. If a single individual
"be justly cashiered through my means, let
"me die by the hands of the hangman, as a
"rebel

"rebel and a traitor. Your majelty is just:
"to its justice I appeal, and demand neither
"favour nor clemency."

The humane and magnanimous monarch was wholly disconcerted. He was certainly convinced of the goodness of my cause, yet durst not form a resolution accordingly; my accusers were too powerful. His answer, therefore, was:

"Make yourself easy, Trenck: I am not irritated against you: I know that you are an honest man: but my ears are continually assailed on your account; you have too highly offended the clergy, and I have told you that I dare not openly be your protector. The day after to-morrow I must go to Prague, on account of the coronation: take care of yourself, that no malicious trick be played you in my abfence, and remain quiet on your estate till
my return."

The conversation continued a long time;
I said a great deal; and the emperor appeared to me to be wavering, and to have this head stuffed with sale informations.

Scarcely had I quitted him, when I took

post, and proceeded to Buda, to obtain on the spot more accurate information of the machinations of my enemies, intending thence to follow him to Prague, and openly demand satisfaction.

My arrival at Buda excited great attention. Immediately I called on Von Lany, the fecretary to the town-council, and asked him if he had been cashiered? He answered me, "Yes."

As he had learnt, however, that he was dismissed by the emperor's command, for having been concerned in the meeting at Fuered, he attempted his culpation, which he persectly accomplished; for he had never been at Fuered, any more than I; and his salfe accuser,————, could prove nothing, but was forced to confess that he had been deceived; so his superiors found that he had been innocently calumniated, reported his case, prevented his dismission, and obtained orders to indemnify him, by conferring on him a better place the first opportunity.

A fimilar answer I received from the other worthy man. Thus it appears the best of monarchs had been too precipitate, had too hastily

haftily credited the information of his courtiers, and, contrary to his inclination and refolutions, had figned an arbitrary fentence, which, on nearer examination, he was forced to repeal.

I now boldly endeavoured to investigate the complet, and foon traced it it to its fources.

At Fuered there actually was a meeting of some noble-minded magnates. They had concerted together to renounce, at the next diet, some of their ancient barbarous privileges, and to impart to the king more power to emancipate the citizens and peafants from their flavish chains, and promote the industry of the people. On the other hand, fit was their purpose to diminish the immense incomes and power of the bishops, restrain their unbounded coverousness and ambirion. and employ the furplus of their revenue to the general good of the oppressed state in encouraging industry, instructing the large body of the almost savage people, and invigorating manufactures and commerces allive

These schemes the monks discovered well

Well acquainted with all my writings, the aim and purpose of which were the same, they doubted not a single moment my being at the bottom of the Fuered meeting. General Barco, a man whose character is well known throughout Hungary, was pitched on by them, as the general-commandant, to deceive the monarch, and represent the assembly as framing a very dangerous plot against him, whilst, on the contrary, it had his and its country's good folely in view.

A monk of the name of Gabelhofer, with the most artful malice, culled passages from my Macedonian Hero, to prove, that fix-andtwenty years before I had entertained designs against monarchs in general, and endeavoured to render them objects of distrust to the people. To these he added extracts from a book, in which I had spoken of the origin of the French revolution in a way to deter all people from copying it, that, taken by themselves, appeared to convey a meaning totally different from what they bore when confidered with the context. The devil himself could not have acted with more malevolence. His HAVA AL conclusion

conclusion from these was, that I sought to stir up the people against the nobility and clergy; and that, as my writings and conduct in Hungary had procured me a great many partisans, particularly amongst the protestants, his majesty would do well to forbid my writing more, as being a dangerous man in that country; to prevent my visiting it again; and to cause me to be watched narrowly, or to secure my person.

The prudent monarch knew my heart, it is true, and my fentiments towards him, and had read, and fecretly approved all my writings: yet he found himself necessitated to acquiesce in the information given by the town-council, the powerful clergy, and a general-commandant. Thus he was induced to issue a command to the military court to lay before me the above-mentioned bond, as a mean of satisfying my enemies. In this court a wicked sanatic presided. He drew up the instrument in his own execrable style, which no one can mistake, and demanded of me much more than his orders expressed. Perhaps the bishop's gold, or his promise of

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not a little to this laiser, ellosed out out

In the course of two days I had unravelled the whole intrigue by which the emperor had been imposed upon, and instantly resolved to proceed to Prague, to disclose it to him. On my return to my inn, the fign of the Eagle, at eleven in the evening, the waiter told me, that the commandant, field-marshal prince Coburg, had fent to defire me to be with him at ten the next morning. At the same time I found a letter from a friend at Vienna, one of the judges of the military court, acquainting me, that the court had iffued an order to the general commanding at Buda to put me under arrest, and fend me to Vienna, as I had gone to Hungary without permission, contrary to the obligation I had figned.

I was not ignorant of the power and mode of proceeding of this court, in which one enemy is sufficient to ruin the greatest general. Instances enough are notorious. Counsellor Weber sentenced prince Eugene to death, for beating the Turks without his orders: and my uncle Trenck, the well-known chief

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of the pandours, who had done such fignal fervices to the state, died unprotected at the Spielberg, as a justly condemned malefactor, because he had secret enemies in the military court, as I have incontestibly proved in a former volume of my history.

The same sate had I to apprehend, if I sellinto the hands of these gentry. To shun the
danger, therefore, I resolved not to go to
prince Coburg in the morning, and set off
early for Waitzen, sour miles distant from
Buda, where I waited at a retired inn for my
money, in order to proceed to the emperor,
to frustrate all their attempts.

There, however, I was arrested the next day, conducted back to Buda, where, as a delinquent, I was watched all night at the guard-house with the most laughable parade, and in the morning I was sent with extra post-horses to Vienna, under the care of a captain of the garrison, Mr. von Cinnique, who had orders not to let me speak or write to any person.

It is remarkable, that I must have been condemned as an atrocious malefactor; for, though I ranked in the line as a major of the

imperial forces, I was delivered into the charge of a corporal of the police, which, according to the rules of the service, could only be done where the delinquent has already been condemned in due form either to death, or to the house of correction. As for this ignominious treatment I have hitherto received no satisfaction; I am justified in thus publicly branding with the epithet of scoundrel him who issued such an order; and could I find him out I would apply to him no other title, even were he to strut before me with a field-marshal's staff.

The next morning I was conveyed into the town, and kept under arrest in my own house. The grenadier lieutenants were changed daily, remained in my apartment, and were ordered not to permit me to write to any one, and not even to suffer my wise and children to be admitted to me; cruelty that could be exercised only in states where despotism prevails in the extreme.

I awaited the emperor's return from Bohemia, with a mind free from reproach, and affured of victory: but on the nineteenth day of my arrest, and three days before his arrival

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at Vienna, the town-major came to me, and brought me my sword, with the following rescript from the military court:

"As a mifunderstanding has prevailed throughout the whole affair, major baron Trenck is hereby set at liberty from his arrest, which he brought upon himself, by not waiting on the general-commandant according to the rules of the service, and changing his abode at Buda three times. The writings taken from him in consequence of this mistake are also hereby directed to be restored.

It is observable on this occasion, that, whilst I was in Hungary, my apartment was forcibly broken open, and all my papers seized. Consequently I must have been accused of treason, otherwise this could not have been done: yet no one had examined me, no one had told me the cause of my arrest.

Does not such a proceeding blur the reign of a monarch, who so solemnly declared that no arbitrary act should be exercised in his dominions whilst he wielded the sceptre; yet a general, a counsellor, to the eternal disgrace

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of

of the laws, could thus trample on the rights of the people with impunity.

Nay more-three-and-forty years I had ferved the state with honour, and merited reward and efteem: I had unquestionably ferved it with more zeal, and more efficacy, than any of those who ill-treated me: I had been a staff-officer thirty years: I possessed landed estates and lordships in Austria, had a wife and eight children there, and my eldeft fon at twenty-three years of age was a captain: every one knew that I would not be either general or minister, that the emperor honoured me with his confidence, and that I had performed a very important part for him in Hungary: yet monkish rancour found means to engage prince Coburg, well known for his humane disposition, to suffer himself, through mere imbecility, a fault of nature, not the heart, not only to put a man like me under arrest, but to fend to the military court an information now notoriously known to be false.

This information was, that I had three times changed my habitation in Buda, and on this account he deemed me a suspicious person.

As this affertion is politively untrue, and as all the confequences that so grossly injured me arose from this false information; as in the Austrian dominions, particularly in Hungary, where I had done, fuffered, and loft fo much, and been lately engaged in fuch important concerns, no one furely could reckon me in the number of those vagabonds, over whom it behoves the police to keep a watchful eye; it is incontestibly clear, that the adjutant, or reporting general-commandant, was by the monks deceived into playing me fuch a trick; or the false reporter took a very inconsiderate step, and acted not like an honest man. The former is probable; yet the latter is fuspicious, as no answer was given tol my earnest application for investigating the business, and transmitting the judicial information to the supreme courts upo on mado

Possibly a man so important as military chief was ashamed of being convicted of and error in a circumstance clear as noon day, and wished to maintain his own reputation for infallibility with a court accustomed to act arbitrariously. I, however, am justified, in de-

together of policy and a verweening power:

fence of my own honour, to give the appellation of calumniators to him or them, by whom the false information was given. It is known that I remained at Buda but two days, during which I lodged at the Eagle; and on the third I lest that house; but surely, had I quitted that inn for another, or gone to reside with a friend, such a circumstance could not have rendered suspicious a man like me, a man of my public character.

In any case, to prince Coburg alone are imputable all the consequences occasioned by his precipitate information; and I hereby challenge him to the open proof of it, contented to forseit both my property and my honour, if he can adduce legal evidence of its truth. This explanation I owe to myself, and to my children, as in Vienna I could obtain no equitable satisfaction.

The emperor was as well convinced of the verity as the public: but he could not punish a field-marshal as a liar; still less could he brand the whole military bench with the severe reproof of inconsiderate precipitancy, or despotic contempt of the laws. Thus was I the victim of policy and overweening power; and as I am wont to manage no one, where the rights, the honour, the fafety of the best of citizens may be invaded with impunity; as the most enlightened monarch is unable to protect them against an affociation, that is not noble-minded enough honourably to repeal what has been determined, probably, by party spirit or imbecility; nothing was left for me but to give way to a power I could not refift. (1

In a firm tone, therefore, I demanded public fatisfaction, or my discharge, cheerfully renouncing my military pension of nine hundred florins, together with my rank, and claimed the bond I had figned on compulfion; declaring, that I would fpend the remainder of my days as I pleased, in perfect independence, either in the Austrian dominions, or out of them, without requiring the permission of any one, and without owing obedience to any military fuperior. " "

A report of this was made, and I received the following decree from the war-office, to which as paramount I had made applinouncelle difficillion? And di

"His majesty grants major baron Trenck, agreeably to his request, leave to refign his difference

post of major, without signing the obligation usual on such occasions; and resolves to give him back the bond he entered into to quit the prosession of letters; to increase the pension he has hitherto enjoyed from nine hundred florins to sisteen hundred; and to leave the same to his wife and children perfonally, that they may enjoy it in his majesty's dominions.

"Whereby baron Trenck is free to cultivate the sciences; at the same time the abovementioned bond to quit writing is restored; and it is farther declared, that his wise and daughter are to receive the afore-mentioned pension of fisteen hundred florins a year, at the military pay-office, from the 18th of this present month of October, being the day of the date of his majesty's resolution, the mother giving her receipt for the same.

"Vienna: the 18th of October, 1791.

"Kinfky. wairi w. Orlandini.

To Frederic baron Trenck."

Could any one receive a much more honourable dismission? And does not this show the justice and kindness of the emperor's sentiments towards me? When I demanded my discharge,

discharge, and proudly renounced my penfion, he increased it, and gave it to my children. This is an evident proof that he was well inclined towards me, though fituated as he was he could do nothing for me openly, without offending the Hungarian clergy, whom he had reason still to treat with caution. It was imagined, however, that I would not have ventured to write fo much at the diet, if I had not been fure of fecret protection. Add to this, fo many complaints were made, and so many informations given, that the monarch could not well do less than enjoin me filence, or command me back to Vienna; but as neither of these took place to the termination of the diet, no one doubted of the political connivance of the court, and deemed me an instrument employed by Leopold to effect his purposes. He durst not yet, therefore, publicly protect or reward me; and though he had folemnly promifed me. at least to restore what the treasury had actually received from the fale of the Trenck estates, and gave me leave to proceed against the present possessor according to the laws of Hungary; lervices

Hungary; though he had affured me, that, on the division of the fiscal estates in the Bannat, I should receive an equivalent for what I had lost; he remained undecided, and post-poned the performance of his promises, till a speedy death berest him of the power.

Thus in all my undertakings was I the sport of my untoward fare! Often had it fixed me apparently fecure on the pinnacle of hope; and in a moment I found myfelf obliged to ftruggle anew against want and persecution. Under Frederic the Great my prospects were most splendid: when slander and precipitancy quickly reversed the scene. Maria Therefa. mistrusted me, because I did not go to mass. Frederic's policy led him to avail himself of the occasion, and his well-paid spies at Vienna contrived to keep me in idleness, that I might do him no injury. In her last days she difcovered that the had been miltaken withrespect to me, and had given up my estates to injustice and rapine. She was on the point of recompensing me, but died without having in her whole life bestowed the smallest benefit? on me, though I had been a victim to her fervice:

service, as I have related in the former part of my history truly and without referve. In Russia the road to fortune lay open to me; when the Prussian ambassador Goltz, by the command of his court, totally obstructed it, and forced me back afresh into the wilderness of forrow. The emperor Joseph fought me, and found a downright honest man, who told him the plain truth, and predicted all the confequences of his inconsiderate undertakings. Thus I was not a man for him, or he for me; I kept myfelf as far as possible from him; I fought juffice, but found it not; and I could dispense with titles, or a prince's favour. Much, however, I laboured for him, both bodily and mentally: but he was fuspicious, and did nothing for me, and too late discovered that I could have rendered him confiderable fervice. He died by me unlamented.

Leopold ascended the throne. I knew him well; he gave me his esteem, and won my heart and my whole considence. What I did for him, how zealously I sacrificed my own interests to serve him, I have here related without parade. A concatenation of events and circumstances

cumstances alone prevented his rewarding me. Indecision retarded the fulfilment of his promifes; and he died when I thought myself at the goal of my hopes.

Wearied out with contests discouraged by experience, and capable of great purposes, I departed from Vienna, where an honest man has nothing but ingratitude and perfecution to expect from the powerful many. I was too old to begin a fresh career with a young prince; and refolved to choose the state of perfect independency, where he who is thoroughly acquainted with the world may acquire fame, and the approbation of his fellow citizens.

Quitting this digreffion, I refume the thread of my narrative. bus end not animon bub has

When I could obtain no fatisfaction for the gross ill-treatment I had received from the military court, having fought justice in vain, I appeared openly in public, and at the theatre. Every one stared at me with astonishment, for my enemies had spread a report that I had excited a rebellion in Hungary, been conveyed to Vienna chained hand and conditagges

foot, and thence sent to the Spielberg for life. The very day, on the evening of which I was at the play, and held my head erect in the midst of my abject enemies, who wished me joy of my good fortune, a counsellor declared on his honour, in a private company, that he saw me shut up in the tower destined for the reception of lunatics; and the public papers had already incarcerated me as a traitor in the most fearful dungeon.

This was not all. Three days after this scene, which was so little to the credit of the knaves and blockheads of Vienna, I went to Zwerbach, to my wife and children. As I had given directions to the keeper of a coffee-house in the neighbourhood to take my letters from the post-office, and to forward them to me, I had been surprised at receiving none. On my return I asked him the reason. His answer was, "that one Grossinger had come to him in the name of the police, and had demanded of him all my letters, with severe threats." Enraged at such a palpable offence, at a time when I had so honourably obtained my freedom, and certainly could not

be an object of suspicion to any magistrate, or any man of honour, I hastened to the director of the police, Mr. von Beer, who bears the character of an honest man, and demanded the infliction of due punishment on Grossinger, whom all Vienna knew to be an abandoned villain.

Mr. von Beer seemed astonished, and defired of me a requisition in writing, that he might procure me sull satisfaction, as the man was not of the number of the spies of the police, and had never received from it any such orders. A fortnight I waited for the determination, when, nothing having been done, I went to him a second time. Without stopping to hear what I had to say, he immediately began: — "I have given it the good-"for-nothing sellow handsomely: I'll warrant he won't dare to play such a trick again." I demanded his punition, and again delivered my complaint in writing, but received no answer, and the sellow went unpunished.

Is not this a palpable instance of German tyranny? What honest man is secure of his life, his honour, his freedom, his property, where

where magistrates can protect the perpetrators of such acts as endanger the safety of the best citizens? And this happened during the reign of the most just and excellent Leopold.

To him I finally went, and found him gracious as usual. His mind was agitated and vexed, as he knew me well, and was confcious that my zeal for him had brought on me this persecution.

My precipitancy alone he blamed, in demanding from the war-office my discharge, which he could not refuse: at the same time assuring me of his compassion and suture favour, especially for my children, and desiring me to wait a more savourable opportunity, when his hands would be more at liberty to do good than at present.

On my reminding him of his promise, to indemnify my losses by estates in the Bannat, he said,—" Have patience: it shall certainly "be done, but cannot at present, for the "Hungarian clergy, your grand enemies, "would thereby be confirmed in their suspicion, that I approved your writing and "conduct, and meant it as a reward for them." In short, he bade me remain quiet

on my estate, in expectation of some better opportunity, and had not the courage openly to do me justice.

Thus are the hands of princes tied, when ministers have once wriggled themselves into despotic power, and the clergy by their poifonous arts deter them from acting nobly. The wife Leopold was aware of the danger, and would certainly have diminished their power, and their usurped influence in the state, had not his reign been so short. He knew the fource of the evils that prevailed in his dominions. I have convincing proofs of his penetration, and of his schemes for attaining by circuitous means this exalted purpose, too perilous to be achieved by open attacks. I had reason also to expect my happiness from his hand; whilst I saw an honest man on the throne, and refolved to observe the patience he had prescribed me. But my wayward fate bereft me of this great and humane fovereign, before he could accomplish his purposes with respect to me. Dreadful news for me, when my ear was affailed by the message of his death! Reader, art thou a prey to despondency? Revolve in thy mind my history; learn from me to stand firm in misfortune: advance boldly to meet the danger: dispense with the favour of the great: and feek resource in thyself. I braved the obstinacy of Frederic, and was the martyr of his regal power: I fought justice from the pious Therefa, and she demanded and received absolution where she was prevented from being just: Joseph promised me every thing, but I knew him, and from him I would ask nothing: for Leopold I did much, and of him obtained nothing, as he died too foon; from his fuccessor I expect every thing, if, before my own death arrives, he be willing to reward my services to him and his predeceffors: but I will not again begin, where I ought long ago to have left off.

Deprived of peace, and ever the butt of fanatics and perverters of justice, I lived a few weeks on my estate, and fent my wife to Vienna before Leopold died.

He received her with every mark of diftinction, which immediately excited envy; and recommended her himself to the empress, to whose disposal he had given all prebends and

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pensions on female foundations. Her majesty received her with particular courtefy, and defired her first lady of the bed-chamber to remind her of my daughter as foon as any vacancy should happen.-Alas! she also is dead, and had in like manner done nothing. But I am too weary, I have been too often disappointed, to make new attempts; and will feek in foreign countries what I could never find in unfeeling Austria. Yet fince I revere Leopold as my tutelary deity, even in the grave, though he never in fact bestowed on me any benefit adequate to the fervices I performed, it is a duty incumbent on me to proclaim him truly to the world fuch as I proved him, fuch as from my conscience I can aver he was. . Bo hal aved or ogs proliticuo

The inclinations, the temper, the sentiments, the qualities of Leopold were diametrically opposite to those of his brother Joseph. He was indeed a man. As a monarch he was framed by nature, he was fashioned by art, to render his people happy, and to dispense peace and tranquillity to every cottage. To this his will ever inclined: but his abilities, though though far above mediocrity, were not of the first class. Hastiness of determination deprived him not of the steadiness of a legislator; and, possessing a sound judgment, the government of the small state of Tuscany prepared him for enterprises more important.

Every exalted action was congenial to his feeling mind: but within the narrow confines of Florence he would know every thing, and had sufficient time to attend to things of little moment; whence in the more ample boundaries of Vienna he augmented his labour by objects that a great monarch should leave to his servants. The informations of secret spies in private societies, which afford opportunity for slander to administer its envenomed cup, were not permitted to assail his throne.

True it is, that on his arrival he threw into the fire, without reading them, whole packets of accusations, which his predecessor had preserved for his favourite amusement. True it is, that Joseph lest behind him a black book, in which were entered the names of all who were to be at some suture period objects of punishment, or to be for ever excluded from vol. III.

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ferving the state: equally true, that the heir of Leopold snatched at it, and would have read it, had not his noble-minded father torn it from his hand, and thrown it into the fire, with these ever memorable words: "Neither you nor I must know the contents."

What an amiable feature in the character of a monarch! From such an one his subjects had no arbitrary exertion of power to fear. Yet his officers of justice, leagued together, found means to lay restraint on his benevolent designs, by administering proper doses of alarm or suspicion, and to throw a veil over their wonted ministerial tyranny.

No monarch is omniscient. From the centre of an extensive territory, no human eye can dart its beams to every point of the circumference, with sufficient force to penetrate the clouds in which artifice envelopes truth. Thus to guile I fell a victim. Well as Leopold knew my heart and my good will, he could not openly show mistrust of the combined multitude of priests, nobles, and lawyers, and was obliged at least to appear to believe what they exhibited in a false light,

Suffice it, he faw more clearly than was genes rally supposed; and had his life been longer, would have shown in due time, that he was not so easy to be led as many imagined. Unfortunately he mounted the throne at a period when Joseph had flung every thing into confusion and uproar; his dominions were a perfect chaos. Brabant had already separated itfelf from them, and was loft; and all his other provinces were ripe for revolt. By the precipitancy of his decrees, his predecessor had irritated all his fubjects, and produced universal tumult; discontent had reached its fummit. This he found, and frustrated all the schemes of his enemies.

The clergy had excited an infurrection in Brabant, and that fine province was already gone. Hungary was in a similar situation; and the fealty of Bohemia was in a tottering state. The Turkish war had exhausted the treafury, and ruined the army; and a fcanty harvest threatened with famine a discontented and truly injured people. On the other hand, the formidable armies of Prussia were already on the frontiers, prepared to give the monarchy

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Deace

archy its deadly blow. Never was Austria in a state so alarming as at this period. The prudence of Leopold, his timely condescension, and his sagacious policy, alone sound means to ward off the threatening peril. He won the hearts, the considence of the Hungarians, and concluded the peace of Reichenbach on terms that can be blamed only by those who are ignorant of the state of Austria at the time.

This step changed the scene throughout Europe. Peace ensued on all sides. Seceded Brabant returned to its duty. The Hungarians listened to Leopold, and, though they murmured, submitted to his commands. The power of their ambitious nobles was curtailed. He directed the coronation to be performed at Presburg, which they would have had take place at Buda: his mild conduct rendered his sway unselt: and he soon won the hearts of that sactious people, that they are now more than ever inclined to spend their lives and properties for a good king. This was certainly a master-stroke of fine policy.

A peace with Turkey followed, as it was not the wish of Leopold to conquer unpeopled deserts. Greatly too as the designs of Prussia and Austria militated against each other, he found means to accord the interests of both monarchies, and promote the fraternity of the German states.

Not less memorable in the eyes of posterity, than astonishing to contemporaries, will appear this epoch, suspicious as the Prussian patriots are of the means by which a supposed impossibility was accomplished.

A certain minister has censured me with much bitterness, as having contributed greatly to this peace, by my influence on the monarch, and by sinister means. By suture generations I shall be judged: and farther on I shall submit more of these weighty reproaches to the opinion of every honest reader. At present, I shall pursue my delineation of a monarch, whose ashes I revere, as he deserves the grateful remembrance of every true-hearted German, and his prudence prevented the effusion of much Teutonic blood.

Uniform in his conduct, as he was the

father of his family, he was the father of his people. He had read much, and reflected deeply. His plans he digested maturely, and carried into execution with coolness. firmness was unshaken in the greatest perils. Benevolent to the oppressed, when offended, he was by no means implacable. The goodness of his heart gave foul to his actions; and even when he was feduced into arbitrary deeds, never monarch thought more nobly. His numerous yet just pensions, which he willingly conferred only on those who needed affifiance, proved his exalted fentiments; and that he knew how to value merit and science, no one will doubt that has observed his condua.

He never gave way to the dangerous workings of anger, though his temper feemed inclined to hastiness; neither inexorable, nor revengeful, he was always easy to be appeased. In reading instructive books he took pleasure; thirst of knowledge kept pace with the fondness of his judgment. Grave, when circumstances demanded gravity, his social behaviour was always engaging and affable;

affable; and he willingly put off the referved and imperious aspect of majesty for the fmile of complacence. His palace was free of access to all the oppressed, without distinction of rank: and, though the never-fatisfied people of Vienna complained, that he was more bountiful of confolation than of affiftance, he certainly did much real good, and listened with patience to every one's complaint. Impossible, indeed, was it for him to fatisfy all; the burden was too heavy, the investigation would have exacted too much time: he was obliged, therefore, to refer many petitions to the established courts, which continued to act in the usual mode, and, in respect to justice and noble-mindedness, differed widely from their master. Hence many had reason to sigh, whose griefs he would have removed in time had he been more than man. He beheld the oppression of his people, and laboured in fecret to bindthe hands of petty tyrants, and establish a due equilibrium between the different classes. The time of accomplishing this important enterprise, however, remained at a distance: while 24

whilst the power of the priesthood was so intimately interwoven with that of the nobility, and the national character had been deprayed through his predecessor's weakness.

In general, whatever way he turned himfelf to procure affiftance, he found true patriotism extinct: as the complying disposition and excessive good-nature of Theresa had cherished impostors, knaves, and traffickers in indulgences, who, uniting together for protection, preyed on the very vitals of the state with impunity.

D fficult, nay impossible, it is for a prince to find remedies for an evil become inveterate by continuance; and few are willing, few are capable, of facrificing their own interest to the general good. This Leopold saw, and felt in its full force. By so much the more grievous to him was the burden of government: yet, stedsast in his purposes, he would have made considerable advances in the internal regulations of the state, had he not been too much occupied by external affairs, that retarded the establishment of a necessary and durable peace, and had not an early death frustrated

frustrated all his schemes. To his worthy successor he less his example, his princely virtues, his model, according to which he should restore the decayed fabric of the Austrian monarchy. It requires perseverance, with Herculean powers; yet I know him so well, that I dare presage the best effects. From my heart I wish him good counsellors, a wise choice, honest assistants, and patience, stead-sastness, health, power, and good fortune to attain the noblest purposes of a worthy monarch. He knows me: and during his reign my children will be considered as the offspring of a man who was never idle when an opportunity offered of rendering service to Austria.

Reason and local knowledge, my domestic wants and paternal duty, lead me to wander in foreign countries only till the young monarch shall seek men who will readily labour for him without the stimulus of self interest, or the desire of titles. That I am as little desicient in inclination as in ability, he is indubitably convinced.

Leopold was a fincere christian, though he

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had examined and perfectly knew the abuses that had crept into religion. From all myftical superstition he was far removed; yet found it necessary to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the times, whilst the policy of Rome occupied itself in hoodwinking the people, and the ambition of the hierarchy knew how to bind the hands of the most prudent prince. By moderation, and the concealment of his real defigns, he certainly would have accomplished the aim of a true father of his country. The enormous income of the bishops, the devouring swarm of monks, and the palfying spirit of fanaticism, he would inevitably have by degrees diminished. These important works, however, he was obliged to leave to the inheritor of his throne. Heaven grant that he may not be lukewarm in the execution, and deterred from their pursuit! and that Jesuitism, which has crept in amongst the ministers and nobility, may never more lift its head, to carry us back to the times of the croisades, of a Sixtus, or of a Borgia! That the fentiments of the emperor, of whom

we were so soon berest, were just as I have here delineated them, I pledge myself to my readers on my word of honour. For all that I published in Hungary he read in manuscript, and approved; yet he was so circumstanced, that he could only say:

"Trenck, go on with your labours alone.
"Beware of fword and poison. I cannot at
"present take you openly under my protec"tion; but I will not let you go unre"warded."

Thus must a king speak, who is obliged to give way to deep-rooted prejudices and priestly rancour: and such is the sate of every country where sanaticism can plant her bloody standard. I trust that Brabant will serve as a warning to all sovereigns; and from the present commotions in Europe I expect either a general spread of light amongst the people, or that they will fall back into a state of the prosoundest darkness. Heaven prosper the swords of them who have drawn them for the rights and happiness of mankind; and overturn the deep-laid schemes of sanaticism. On this depend the welfare of nations, and the true glory of beneficent princes, for which

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alone

alone I would spend the last drop of my blood in the field of battle, if younger soldiers would give me leave. That the disturbances in France, ledge occasioned the disturbances in France, is an erroneous supposition. I was a diligent observer of every spring of the evil. The oppression of the people, the concatenated multitude of noble and clerical leeches who sucked their very blood, compelled those to revolt who had nothing but their poverty to lose: and a similar fate threatens every land where the rulers wish to govern with whips and scourges; a mode now practicable only amongst Asiatic slaves.

In a country where every one has reason to be satisfied with his condition; where ministers cannot tyrannise, and the nobles have not assumed an exclusive right to all places of honour and profit; where useful citizens are not doomed to contempt and inaction, but merit and talents may lift up their heads; where priests have not monopolised the education of youth; and where freedom of thinking, freedom of inquiry are permitted; no propagation of knowledge can be dangerous, no confederacies for effecting a revolution

are to be feared. Only the prince who delights in war, only he who deals not justice with an equal hand to all descriptions of men, finds in himself reason for suspicion, and trembles at the proceedings of France. In the French alone we find an instance of a people, who have made a general infurrection in which the clergy had no hand. These are the most dangerous persons in a nation that has cause to be discontented. But woe to the monarch who believes that he is in danger, if the interests of the church be not connected with his own! He will find that he must bear the hierarchical voke, and leave his ignorant deceived people unprotected in the arbitrary hands of priefts, if he will merit absolution, and hope a feat in heaven.

Leopold was certainly in no danger, as he lived like a father amongst his children. But he who lives, like a Mogul, at a distance from them, where he cannot hear their sighs, and suffers vizirs to think and act in his stead, may justly tremble when the oppressed murmur. And he who will domineer over the

whole

whole world, who is constantly on the watch to enlarge his territories at the expence of his neighbours, and who would accustom his peaceful subjects to acts of rapine, should never be permitted to fully a throne that ought to be filled by the father of his people. Whilst the pages of history are blurred with the consequences of such misrule, the people, warned by example, should dispose of him in a mad-house: then would the cause of revolutions be torn up by the roots.

The peaceable foul of Leopold deferves monuments from the gratitude of posterity. He would have made not only his own states, but all Europe happy, and eradicated every germ of discord. A protector of the fine arts, a promoter of science, inclined from his youth to instructive reading, and fond of the society of honest, free, and enlightened men. Raise altars to his memory, ye sons of the Muses, for ye have lost a father! He is dead! revere the remains, revere the memory of a man who was worthy of the sceptre! Weep over his urn, ye honest citizens of the Austrian states! Never before lost ye such a master:

never before, perhaps, deserved ye such an one. At his coronation I chanted his praise: over his grave I stood dumb with affliction. Him alone I served with a warm heart: and I repent it not; though instead of being rewarded as I deserved, I was the victim of his acquiescence and indetermination.

Leopold possessed almost every quality that could promote the welfare of his contemporaries, or deserve the veneration of posterity. As a proof of his exalted sentiments, I will relate only what follows.

Seeing and conversing with him often, as he granted me free access, I once said to him:—"Your majesty's wants and advantages in state affairs I know well, from an experience of three and forty years, during which I have examined every thing with prying eyes. I would impart to it my remarks on objects that are carefully conceased from a monarch's sight, and in pointing out the wasp's nest among the hives of industrious bees, render a service that will remain after I am no more."

The emperor gave me permission to write the naked truth without reserve. I did so:

and delivered to him a differtation of twelve sheets.

A week after this I waited on him. He received me graciously, went into his closet, took out my manuscript, and clapping me on the shoulder, returned it with these words:

"Thus should every man at court write."—

At the same time he ordered me to give it to the archduke Francis, his heir, but not to tell him that he had previously seen it.

How strong a proof of an enlightened and excellent mind in a prince!

He conversed with me near two hours, in a confidential manner, on the whole contents of my paper, and consequently had in so short a time read it through with attention. On so affecting an occasion, who could be more loyal than I? My secrets were disclosed, and I perceived their effects in his words and looks. I returned home sull of spirits; wrote a short dedication in verse to my paper; and the next day, April the 8th, 1790, presented it to the young prince.

Whether the present monarch made anypse of this writing, and weighed me in a just scale, I shall soon have occasion to observe.

Its important contents, however, shall remain a fecret while I live, and not be read till I am no more. They would too clearly expose the state of his dominions; and, greatly as I have been offended, I am not disposed to betray secrets that have been confided to me, or even that I have myfelf difcovered. Suffice it, that he faid, "As prince, " I should find him my friend; as king, a just " master." How often hath he pitied me, when I complained to him of oppression! Now he has the power in his hands, he may, if he please, redress my complaints. When he does, he will receive my thanks, he will receive my praise. May he make good to my children what his predecessors owe me; for myself I want nothing, I will ask nothing: for I have been too often disappointed, and have learnt, from experience. that an heir to a throne can promise what, when he wields the sceptre, he forgets to perform. On this account have I remained fo long at a distance from court, purposing not to quit my retirement till I am called. and

and till the value of the political paper above mentioned is proved and known.

That his praise-worthy father placed much confidence in me, and conversed with me frequently; and that I did much for him; he is well aware. His heart is noble; as a monarch therefore he will deal by me, as he selt as a prince: much then have I to hope, if I would seek his favour for my right. Of Leopold I will never complain, that he lest me unrepaid for the persecutions I experienced from his courts of justice: his situation required circumspection, and his power was not sufficiently established for him to protect, amid the general corruption of Vienna, martyrs to the truth, like me.

Under his reign, the counsellor Sonnenfels, learned and esteemed in Vienna alone,
durst no longer maintain from a public chair,
that a subject has no property. During that
of his predecessors he was a man of celebrity, whilst he afferted in his publications
that Prussa was not in a state to desend itself against the arms of Joseph. Every enlightened,

lightened, every honest man, should detest such professors, who preach despotism to gain titles. Joseph employed him as a spy of the police: Leopold despised him, as from his seathers he knew the bird: and by Francis, he who has sinned against the rights of the people, and waged open war with sound reason, will never be honoured.

Whatever changes have taken place in the government, I have always written and spoken in the same style. Neither my language nor my principles have ever changed. This is the praise of an honest author, this is the duty of an honest man, whom no princely power should be able to bend to its will.

This potion I owed to a man, on whom I wished to bestow the reward he merited from the weak, superficial, deluded inhabitants of Vienna. The occurrence which I am now about to relate truly redounds, perhaps, to my honour; yet shows that my fate ever holds a retrograde course, and lays me open to every possible stroke from those with whom I have to contend, till posterity shall say at my grave: "Here only Trenck found rest."

On my arrival at Berlin in 1787, being received with particular tokens of esteem, and the monarch showing me distinguished marks of favour, I availed myfelf of the opportunity to straiten the connexion between the Prussian court and that I served; considering it the first duty of a true-hearted German, to prevent if possible the shedding of his countrymen's blood. Conversing on the subject with the imperial ambaffador, prince Reufs, he told me that a negotiation would be impossible whilft the minister Hertzberg was at the helm. I perfuaded him to establish an intercourse with the latter gentleman, and to converse with him not as a minister, but as a private person, that they might become mutually better acquainted with each other; and was commissioned to bring this about with caution.

The wish of the imperial ambassador I imparted to count Hertzberg. He was pleased with the proposal, but replied:

"My house is beset with spies from all the "ambassadors: if prince Reuss were to visit me, a connexion would be suspected. Imme"diately letters would be sent off to Vienna, to "irritate

"irritate the wit-snapping emperor, who is always ready to speak with contempt of the king of Prussia. His quibbles would be quickly repeated to the latter, distrust increased, personal enmity on each side strengthened, and every step towards a good understanding between them rendered vain, as there are so many states interested in keeping Austria and Prussia eternally at variance."

On this I proposed a mean of carrying on a conference incognito at a third place, and obtained the count's assent. The time and place being fixed, I repaired to prince Reuss. They met, to their mutual satisfaction; and both thanked me for a step that promised consequences of the utmost importance.

I now drew up a plan for the gradual establishment of a more intimate union. It proposed:—

- 1. Liberty for the subjects of each state to return to their native country.
- 2. To introduce the Hungarian wines into Prussia, in opposition to the French; while, on the other hand, Hungary would admit the manufactures

manufactures of Prussia; and to establish a free trade between Silesia and Bohemia.

This plan I took an opportunity of mentioning to the king himself. He referred me to his minister von Werder, in whose department it was. And I can affure my reader, that Frederic-William showed a strong inclination to further my proposal, cheerfully offering his hand to the alliance; and the minister found nothing to object.

Prince Reuss now intreated me to be secret, and observed, that our project would certainly be frustrated, if it came to the knowledge of the chancery at Vienna, and the Prussian minister, von Jacobi. He added: - " I will conclude the bufiness alone with count Hertzberg, at Berlin. I will then proceed to Vienna, speak to the emperor, and tell him that your zeal paved the way to this grand work. "ni ground to insend Idiffe

The whole was now concluded, and the weighty question, which of the two courts should take the first step, decided; as the king, a friend to peace, found no difficulty in making the proposals. These were disbedstep there hand, Hungary would admit the

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patched to the emperor, and remained un-

I repaired to Vienna, hastened to the em-

He listened to me with a sneer. At length his seatures were wrought into a smile, and he said:

"What! is there any comparison? I have three hundred thousand men, and can pre"fcribe laws in Berlin. Such a king I will foon drive out of his seraglio." When, looking at me with scorn, he added the remarkable words: —— "You have obtained a pension from the king. I wish you joy of it. He does not know, however, that this summer I shall be at Constantinople, and then we shall talk in another tone."

He who knows Joseph, hears in these his words; and every one who is acquainted with politics, every one who knows mankind, may judge of my thoughts on this occasion.

I beheld him with grief, shrugged my shoulders, returned home with a sigh, and resolved from that time not so see him again. To my friends I predicted the consequences.

fequences. I spoke with more freedom than is usual at Vienna, and was laughed at for my pains.

Thus were all my honest endeavours disappointed, in a state where men are generally estimated according to their places, titles, and pretensions: and I found in modern days the confirmation of the old saying, "the industrious bees make honey in vain, when mice are in the hive, and drones find protection."

The year following, as I returned from Paris, and had investigated the sources of the Brabantine revolution, I could not resist my inclination to fulfil the duty of a citizen, went to court, and foretold what would follow. I received for answer:

"Dalton will foon tie the rebellious mob to his horses' tails, as the Tartars do their prisoners. I will now show myself in earnest, and all will soon be quiet."

I replied,—" If your majefty be fovereign of Brabant on new-year's-day, I will forfeit my head from my shoulders."

This tone gave displeasure. He sneeringly smiled, and said: "You have no doubt learnt

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"to speak and judge thus from your friend "Hertzberg."

I uttered not another word; fighed; and within a month all my prefages were verified.

On his death-bed he remembered me; but for me did nothing. He died in a lamentable situation, and merited my reproaches: yet I pitied him, but still more his successor.

Leopold now ascended the throne, beset with a multitude of princely cares. I sought and obtained access to him, as I have already mentioned, and was with him at least three times a week. In Vienna my unbounded love of truth was known; and my intimate acquaintance with the town and its inhabitants were equally notorious. I knew, too, that Trenck's having so much the ear of the new sovereign did not give satisfaction at Berlin. Cabals arose on all sides—I was watched, I was envied, and the plunderers of the state trembled with the apprehension that they should be unmasked.

At his arrival in his dominions, peace was the grand wish of the monarch, that he might become the father of his justly offended sub-

VOL. III.

jects. As the convention of Reichenbach took place, and I was so frequently seen at court during this period, it was supposed, both at Vienna and Berlin, that I had pointed out the means of effecting it.

On this subject any reader may think as he pleases. Never will I discover a secret intrusted to me, or what, as a German patriot, I have done to promote a paternal union amongst the people of Germany. Ostentation is by no means my hobby-horse. I might seel proud of the approbation of posterity, were I supposed to be an instrument of the peace of Reichenbach. But in my situation truth is dangerous, were it to be made public; and I will do injury to no one that has contributed to so noble a purpose as peace, and the gratification of the wish of Leopold.

That others have ploughed with my heifer, is certainly true. Yet, as another has plumed himself in the reputation of a plan silched from me, by no one shall I be called to account for the means whereby the grand scheme was accomplished. I have received no present from the emperor, and alone re-

main poor, where others have mounted to wealth and honour on the ladder I had raised. Leopold is now dead, and cannot tell his successor, who probably, on principles like those of Joseph, is not fatisfied with the convention which saved Austria from destruction, who it was that opened the path for him, and has to wait for the praise he merits, till the effects of this important work are known and valued as they ought.

To excite the compassion of my readers, I must here disclose a secret, which, while it redounds to my honour, will render my implacable enemy a man much to be seared. Many, no doubt, will say,—'" As Trenck has already so often found what the savour of princes and ministerial rancour are capable of effecting, why does he rush into dangers, at which every one who knows the world must shudder?" He only can preserve his quiet who remains an indifferent though attentive spectator: but he who endeavours to destroy the horner's nest will certainly be stung, be he ever so wary, and will not be pitied by those who appear in helmets to preserve themselves

from

from fillips on the nose at court, where the nightingale must fing in his cage, or drown the chirping of the sparrow, joyous in his freedom, and lap-dogs reclining on fatin cushions eat the hare caught by the lank greyhound that pines with hunger at the door!

Yet let men think what they please, I blush at no good action; and only pity those who are deterred from the performance of such by my example.

The occurrence I was about here to make known to the world was actually printed,—but, alas! an intervening occasion, on which I was eagerly intreated to bury it in silence, lest it should bring persecution on my children, has induced me to cancel those sheets, and leave out a passage, which would have done much honour, and thrown considerable light on this history.

To times and circumstances, therefore, I must submit; hoping, that my reticence will pacify him, who has demanded from my integrity this silence, which will considerably diminish the value of my history. In thus appealing to my honour, he attacked me on

my weak side; for from the threats of the powerful I am not accustomed to shrink.

More deserving praise, undoubtedly, should I appear, were the papers I have in my hands laid before a candid world. I hope, however, that no one will stimulate me to publish what I have promised to consign to eternal secrecy.

The convention of Reichenbach frustrated the fairest opportunity Prussia ever had of reducing Austria to suture infignificance. Its certainty was known to the enlightened sew; and they were consequently displeased with the promoters of peace: yet the short-sighted pride of Vienna rendered it as little satisfied with the condescension of Leopold.

Thus I lost favour on both sides, and actually suffered persecution, where still there was nothing but probability and conjecture against me. Time and posterity alone can estimate my worth in the grave, when the consequences of what is now passing shall be more clearly developed. Vanity was never my soible: yet would I willingly say something at least of this grand event, that the resolutions I made at Vienna and at Berlin may be justified, and

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the reason why I have no reward to expect from either court may be known. A change of rulers produces a change of systems. For Leopold I offered myself a sacrifice: he is dead; and his successor heeds not my sighs.

Wearied with never-ceasing conflicts, and labours fruitless for myself alone, I chose decided independence, and, quitting Vienna, paid a visit to Berlin. Here I found the cabals had taken the field against each other. The period was not favourable to me-the worthy king was too strictly observed. My defign, therefore, I postponed to a more fortunate opportunity, and prefented him my youngest son for his service, whom, with the most gracious expressions and assurances, he appointed an officer in Werder's regiment of horse, in which his brother had already ferved five years with honour and efteem. Should circumstances so turn out, that they both must suffer because I am their father, they will know how to follow my example, and prefer honourable freedom to the happiness of a slave. All honest men will be their friends and protectors when I am no more; and

and they will dread no ministerial perfecutions, bend to no enemies of virtue, need no court favours, to purfue in youth the paths of integrity, and become worthy members of fociety, where to live, to act, and to think on the principles of Trenck are no more.

From Berlin I travelled to Hamburg, and had fufficient reason this time to keep myself incognito, whilst many eyes appeared to be directed towards me. As a free person indeed I could demand satisfaction of any one who gave me offence. Under William's sceptre the gates of the Spandau bastille are thut against every victim to arbitrary power; and I fear not him who wears a crown, if he dare infringe the rights of man. But who stands highest in the credit of the public will have been already remarked at Paris, where the academy of sciences, that had been intreated as much as possible to depreciate me and my writings, did just the contrary, blaming me only for reciting the praises of my fecret enemies, to fuch a degree as to excite a fuspicion of flattery, in all my writings, Literary

Literary emulation shall never debase me to revenge and persecution, particularly where my conscience tells me that my silence proceeds from greatness of mind. The private individual seldom experiences justice: but he who is conscious of his own internal worth will be incapable of servile flattery.

If a few of their excellencies should believe, that from zeal to the emperor Leopold, and for the welfare of Germany, I contributed somewhat to the peace of Reichenbach, which frustrated many contrary schemes that would have involved in discord two benevolent princes, and deluged their country with blood, the ascription of so commendable an act does me no small honour, though the paying it me publicly would redound more to the credit of their ministerial wisdom. In this case, however, I should have a claim to the greater part of those rewards and presents obtained by those who have-ploughed with my heiser.

From this true, downright German narrative my readers may infer, that fate has not ceased to persecute me, and that the most upright conduct is least known, and least rewarded.

Enough! literature is now my hobby horse, on which the Belisarius of Austria and Prussia will probably prance throughout Europe (those parts of it excepted where fire and faggot threaten heretics like me), till he finds some corner secure from ministerial rancour and prelatical vengeance, whence the thundering voice of truth may pierce with resounding echoes the remotest region of the atmosphere, and, crowned with conviction, subside into gentle murmurs purling on his ear, when the rigid censor, backed by his satellites, has threatened it with setters in vain.

It is far from unlikely, therefore, that the public will yet be greeted with a numerous progeny from my fertile pen. In happy Denmark the press is still free to enlighten and instruct the people. May heaven bless and reward the prince who confirms to his subjects the rights of man! But should sovereign commands operate universally throughout Germany, to bring back the times of the croisades, I will learn the language of savages,

and

and write for the Hurons the biography of our European monarchs, and ministers of state, in plain honest words; and dispatch my faithful pictures to the inquisition at Rome and Madrid, where they may apply who wish to have true copies of them.

God, who has hitherto permitted me, amidst a thousand perils, to act the part of an honest man, and a real martyr to the truth, protect and strengthen me in the last scene of my tragedy, and let not my powers fail where I meet with obstacles insurmountable!

To you, friends of human kind, who have not read my history unmoved, I commend my children, when I am stretched on the field. In the grave I shall be deaf to the voice of same: my head is grey; and I have had reason to imprecate each rising sun, that sheds beams on so many knaves. O! were this the last day of my beholding them! My inquisitive eye has long been weary of viewing mankind and the occurrences of this world; and he who has been like me exposed to the unabated ardour of the sun of sate's torrid rays, must wish for repose in the shades of death.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

LIEUTENANT SCHELL.

IN the third volume of my history, I deferibed this man as an original. I mentioned his death, and inserted his farewell letter, in which he imparted to me his last resolves. I even wrote to his captain, to inquire the circumstances of his death, and received from him its confirmation.

How much was I aftonished, when, in 1790, I received at Paris, from this supposed dead man, the following epistle!

cc Friend!

"When thou receivest this letter from a man, whom thou hast for seventeen years imagined to be in the grave, thou wilt undoubtedly be surprised. Receive, now, an explanation of this strange miracle.

"An officer of our regiment, returning from Switzerland, where he had been on furlough, brought to Novara thy printed hiftory, in which thou hast not forgotten mine. In it I am depicted in such true colours, that it appears thou hast little tenderness for my honour even in the grave: a chimera, that treubles me little; still less does it excite me to reproach.

ped off the mask, and the whole garrison knows him, who had for fix-and-thirty years concealed himself from their curiosity. To me this discovery is far from pleasing: but with thee I am not on that account angry. The truth was written by thee, when thou reckoneds me among the dead; and they who are actually dead concern themselves not with reading, or with the judgment posterity may

pass on them. For thy mistake I can accuse no one but myself, and I am alone the cause that things have been revealed which are highly prejudicial to me in my present situation.

" I was not ignorant that justice was refused thee at Vienna, and that thine enemies had oppressed and reduced thee to poverty. During my residence at Aix, I perceived plainly that I was a burden to thee, and that thy domestic wants demanded thy laborious exertions. Thy goodness to me I had experienced: I was on every occasion assisted, and never forfaken by thee. In Alexandria I was but a poor subaltern. Hadst thou supposed me to be amongst the living, thy inability to support me would have pained thy noble mind, and thy children would have suffered. that I might have had affiftance. This alone determined me to deceive thee, and to make thee believe, that, being in the grave, my wants were at an end. On this account I imparted to thee my final resolution, as a philosopher, to leave a world that could have no charms for either of us.

"Of my captain thou inquired t about my

death; and I prevailed on him, by my intreaties, to countenance the deception. Thus thou art justified to me, as I am assuredly in thine eyes, for thy Schell thou hast proved.

" As my heart and my curiofity still led me to observe thee, I requested a friend at Aix to give me from time to time accounts of thee; and those I received contributed little to my fatisfaction. From princes thou halt never found justice; and thy propensity to writing, thy zeal for truth, augmented the rage of thine enemies, who thought themfelves thereby injured, and perfecuted thee on that account with redoubled animofity. Such infects are not tamed by the firmness and zeal of a Trenck. I remained filent. therefore, till I learnt thy success at Berlin. On this I congratulate thee from my heart; and rejoice with all who know true worth, and are capable of valuing thy merit.

"At the age of seventy-sour, I am at length, for the sourth time, an orderly ensign. Thus neither of us has advanced much in the military line: but thou wilt join with me in laughing at things of so little moment. He

who could give a Trenck, in his fixty-fifth year, the paltry rank of major, is more to be pitied than thou art; and I can never expect a colonel's commission from one who could make the grey-haired Schell an enfign. Certainly, my friend, thou and I concern ourfelves little about fuch trifles as titles, or things that depend on the arbitrary will of others: but thou couldst not refrain from laughter, wert thou to fee Schell, now bent with age, parading in an enlign's uniform. This, however, fortune has not thought proper to bring about. Yet, in every fituation, in every circumstance, I have been content: and I now feel greater cause to be so than ever, fince I have heard good accounts of thee.

"I am indebted to my captain the money he furnished for my equipment. If the sale of our history has produced thee any profit, send me my share for the sew pages filled by my adventures, that I may satisfy my benefactor: if, however, thou hast not so much left, think not of it.

[&]quot;The perusal of our travels through Po-

land has given me much pleasure. I have found thee again in thy style. At length some of thine enemies have met their reward. any one more powerful remain, even though he wear a crown, thou knowest me. I have nothing to lofe, and would die fmiling at his fide, if thou but give me the hint. My parents, my relations, are all in the grave-I. therefore, am restrained by no duties. Thou art a father; thou must live, endure, and care for others. Give me speedily an account of thy present situation. This letter will excite thy amazement. Thou hast innocently deceived the public, in announcing to it my death. But, my friend, the public concerns itself little, whether a Schell or a Lesch exists, or ever did exist; or whether he prances about on a white horse in heaven, or cuts capers under the lash of Satan's whip.

" Send me two copies of thy history. In it I shall read my adventures with indifference, thine with rapture and admiration. Since the passions have ceased to assail me, my days and years glide by like a murmuring stream. My occupations are uniform: my health, my

frame

frame of body, my disposition of mind, and my seelings, are just those of a hail old man. I now for the first time enjoy existence, and seel that I live. By the whole regiment I am loved and esteemed: by no one am I envied, in no one do I find an enemy. I have no one in the world to disturb me in the performance of my duties; no one who will want me when I am no more. If thou art as happy as I actually am, delay not to write a letter that will revive me. I expect it, I eagerly long for it, and ever remain

"The old Lesch; but, fince thou hast raised me from the dead, at present thy tried friend,

" Navara, April, 1790.

" SCHELL."

My answer to the preceding letter.

" Paris, May, 16, 1790.

"STILL, then, dear Schell, art thou an actor on this mundane stage! I thought myself certain that thou hadst already awaited
the resurrection of the dead for seventeen
years longer than I; and since that time no
smiling day has passed without my remembering thee, and honouring thy ashes.

" Worthy

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"Worthy man! thou hast deceived me, from overstrained generosity. Of such actions thou alone art capable: but I consess to thee, that, on breaking the seal of thy letter, a sacred tremor seized me, at again sinding a friend like thee, who art such an honour to the name of friendship.—Yes, dear Schell, with open arms I receive thee, restored to me from the grave. These arms, that bore thee from Glatz to Braunau, are ever ready to receive thee, dearen to me than Pylades to Orestes. At all times wert thou welcome to me; doubly welcome now, when I am in circumstances to serve thee, without injury to myself.

"The account of thy life, given in my hiftory, most certainly was not calculated to give thee pleasure: but why wouldst thou live and die in secret, and give thyself out for dead? Thou art assured that thy Trenck would not, at his resurrection, have left thee in the grave. Sure it is that I spared thee not, and divulged thy secrets: but, supposing thee dead, I could not ask thy consent. Yet, when frankly confessing faults, I praised thy inimitable

inimitable virtues to my contemporaries, and thy posterity know that tears of forrow mingled with the ink wherewith I wrote my name.

" Thus it is now known in Sardinia that thou art the Schell whom I have delineated. Forgive it, dearest friend! to thyself alone it is imputable: by thee was torn the veil that concealed thy failings and thy virtues. Unquestionably many passages in thy history I would not have written, had I supposed it possible that thou couldst still be in the land of the living. But I knew, that thou, like me, wert too much superior to prejudice, to fancy bloom in the withered flower. I knew, that to thee posthumous renown was a matter of indifference, and that thou hadft fcrutinifed praise and blame with the eye of a philosopher. On this account I spared thee not, where shades contrast the lights. For my part, I give thee leave to fay that I have been profuse in embellishing thy legend, to fet off-to advantage the history of my own martyrdom.—Hence, perhaps, we may both receive the honour of canonifation.

"At thy letter I am a little disturbed,

fince thou art indifferent to every thing that concerns Schell. Lesch undoubtedly ceases not to be Lesch; else would the truth of Trenck's adventures begin to be doubted, in which I was justified by a long silence to difclose what might be unpleasing to the living Schell. But, in short, I have done thee no effential injury. All my readers pity, admire, and esteem thee; and if ever thou comest to France, thou wilt here find a people endued with noble fentiments, who honour in thee the hero of friendship, and would willingly ameliorate thy fate. Thy fault, imprudence, the total contempt of self-interest, was a noble, bold, or perhaps rash undertaking, that invited thee all this injured thyfelf alone. Every honest man, every one who knows the human heart, will do thee justice; and would willingly see the greyheaded Schell in a more prosperous situation than that of an orderly enfign.

"For thy satisfaction, too, I must relate a circumstance, which testifies the greatness of William's mind. I was desired to give him thy history. Attention illumined his benevolent seatures, and he asked with ea-

gerness—" Is that singular man yet alive?"
—" No, sire," was my answer.—To which, with the most affectionate warmth, he replied,—" Were he still living, I would gladly " see him at Berlin."—Judge whether I have not cause to revere him.

"In thy next letter, which I ardently expect, write me a more particular account of thy present situation. Canst thou quit thy friends, and thy accustomed mode of life in Italy, and reside with me? In the mean time I remit thee thy share of the profits of our history. This thou canst not resuse: it comes to thee not from Trenck, but from the public. I only restore thee what I kept for myself, believing thee dead.

"My present situation at Paris is too turbulent for a philosopher. Were vanity my soible, I must here be happier than a Cæsar. Triumph every-where attends my steps, and France makes me forget all my sufferings. Here the people think nobly, freely, and magnanimously. Soon will the setters be broken, and events succeed, that must associate the wish of imitation. I regret nothing but the years I

have wasted in Austria. There I did much, and loft all: ingratitude was my reward, and never has any thing been done there for me: Still am I contending in vain against the plunderers of my property, and against the mean principles and prejudices of my plodding, stupid, and malevolent fellow-citizens. The greatest misfortune of all is, that I must leave my well-disposed children in a climate of all the most dangerous to virtue and honefty, fettered as I am by the smallness of that portion of my property which I have been able to fnatch from the gripe of peculation. I have only the duties of a father to fulfil, however; for, in a despotic country, a citizen has no duties. From every appearance, I have nothing to hope. My great estates are gone. I have no cares but for those whom I have called into a melancholy existence; and these prevent my enjoyment of the victory I have at length obtained, in the general approbation of my conduct.

"Dear Schell! we now approach the last scene of the parts we have had to act: and affuredly I shall not be hissed off the stage by In general I have been approved, admired, and pitied; but I have received no support. None but Britons throw their purses on the stage to good actions *: other nations content themselves with clapping and applauding them. Throughout my whole life I have sound only one Schell. Many have been affisted by me in their necessities: but from the great, who should console, enrich, and reward those who deserve it, I have never received any thing.

"Yet I repent neither; nor does either disturb my peace:—what is necessary I know how to earn; with what is superfluous I can dispense.

"Of the estates ravished from us in Hungary, my children will not easily recover any part, if, sollowing my example, they openly attack fraud with the arms of justice alone, and, like me, they shall never cringe to obtain them. Thou, my dear Schell! hast nothing but thy own wants to claim thy cares.

^{*} Baron Trenck appears to have visited Bartholomew-fair: as we believe this is not practifed on any British theatre, except those of Smithsield. T.

Transfer them to me. Thou knowest my heart;-to fatisfy them will be my most pleafing occupation. My history has led thousands to pity thy fate: but of those thousands not one has disbursed a single penny to render it more comfortable. So thinks, fo acts the world. Thou, however, art more happy in thy fituation than I am in mine; for I have the anxieties of a father. Let us finish our tragedy, without stooping to any harlequin tricks. Mine is performed at the theatres of London and Paris with applause; whilf I fit smiling as a spectator. When we have both ceased to act on the world's stage, I hope to have much converfation with thee behind the curtain, respecting the parts we have performed together; if fouls can speak without tongues, lips, and muscles, and hear without auditory nerves.,

" Farewell!

" Thy friend,

" TRENCK."

Thus my friend, whom I reported dead, is arisen from the grave, and now actually an apostolical ensign in a Turinese garrison.

An avaricious bookseller of Paris has printed a Life of Schell, and a volume of his poems, for the fake of getting money. I declare, however, on my honour, that Schell knows nothing of either; and that they are a hodge-podge of stupidity, calumny, and falsehood. His supposititious poems are the productions of some blockhead; and the whole is the compilation of a knave. In his book he has inferted this poor man's will, in which are bequeathed whole caskets of diamonds, stones of immense value, ample legacies, and vast sums of money. From. my heart I wish that Schell were so wealthy; and that the patriarch of all enfigns could nurse his old age on a convenient sopha, without having to care for the necessaries of life if he should become an invalid.

The worthy man is still alive, and they who, affected by his fate, wish to comfort his old age, may find him at Turin. Schell wants no palace; he needs neither man-cook nor valet-de-chambre: but at his time of life he deserves ease, and freedom from care. For riches he was never anxious: but he

VOL. III. A facts of the commence of the state thought

thought too little of the future, when the weight of years crushes the springs of activity; and the helpless destitute grey-beard, without friend, without country, without support in his necessities, feels the pinch of want, and languishes in penury. The possibility that fuch may be his fate pains me to the heart, fince it is not in my power to do for him what I would: and the villainous bookfeller, who has injured him by his calumnies, will certainly bestow on him no part of that money which he has fwindled from the purses of the curious Parisians. Our laws punish not such thieves, who enrich themselves at the expence of worthy men. From bookfellers and scandalous pirates I myself have experienced no better fate.

THE END.

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